

Kurusu Speaks

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Ambassador Saburo Kurusu

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The True Facts Leading to the Opening of Hostilities Between Japan and America

*(Addressing the Imperial Rule Assistance Association,
November 26, 1942)*

The first anniversary of the issuance on December 8, 1941, of the gracious Imperial Rescript declaring war, is nearing. Details of the circumstance under which Japan, after her very earnest efforts for ten long months to seek a peaceful solution of issues between America and herself, was obliged to open hostilities with America and Britain, were officially made public by the Japanese Government at the time. This day last year is particularly unforgettable for me because it was on this day last year that Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura, the Japanese Ambassador, and myself received from Cordell Hull, the American Secretary of State, a very important Note, which marked a crucial turning point in the final stage of the Japanese-American negotiations and which may well be said to have been decisive of the issue of the parleys. While the day is unforgettable for me, I think that this is also the day which the Japanese nation should long remember.

About ten days later, war broke out between Japan and America, and in the war that ensued the Japanese Forces have carried everything before them, so much so that during only half a year of warfare they achieved such brilliant war results as are unprecedented in the war annals of the world, wiping out all Anglo-American influences in the entire Southern Regions. We, who were interned in the enemy country at the time, thought of the immeasurable August virtues of His Majesty the Emperor and felt a great pride as Japanese na-

tionals at the brilliant Japanese victories which continuously reached our ears. Later, basking in the boundless Imperial Favors, we were able to come home on board the so-called exchange ship. On our way home we heard the reports of the Japanese occupation of key points in the Aleutians, of the development of the fighting lines over the very extensive areas stretching from the African coast to the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, and of the crushing of the persistent Anglo-American counterattacks in the Southern Pacific and elsewhere. We also called at the port of Shonan and were happy to observe that in all the Southern Regions under Japanese occupation, various constructive works, political, economic and cultural, aiming at the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere were already being pushed steadily with the cooperation of the inhabitants of these districts. The deep emotion which we felt then is probably something which is beyond the imagination of our countrymen who have never left their country. Even our return home, we keep that deep emotion alive in our breasts and are determined as loyal subjects to do all that we can for our country.

Causes of War Remote

I think the causes of the present War of Greater East Asia are remote. The history of the world shows that the world trend since the 19th century has, on the whole, been a record of the eastward movement of Occidental influences. Since the 19th century, the peoples of East Asia have been compelled to lie inactive before the onrush of the economic forces together with the strong military power of the Western European Powers. As a consequence, many of the Asiatic countries lost their territories or even their independence. Even our own country could not, until comparatively recently, have its own customs autonomy or judicial power which were bound by the restrictions of various unequal treaties. The

historical inevitability of the War of Greater East Asia lies indeed in the reaction of the East Asiatic peoples against the unjust encroachment of these various Western European influences. Germany, Italy and other Axis Powers had long ago perceived this general trend and asserted their right of establishing a new order in Europe and, at the same time, recognized as legitimate, the establishment of a new order in East Asia by Japan. The fact that Japan has allied herself with these Powers and is fighting against such nations as the United States and Britain, which refused to acknowledge this general trend and are now endeavoring to obstruct it, is entirely due to this reaction.

It was after the Russo-Japanese War that this tendency became particularly marked. Upon the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, America extended sympathy and support to Japan with a view to restraining Russia whom she regarded as a formidable enemy across the Pacific. But when, as the natural result of her victory in the War, Japan secured the leading position in East Asia, America discarded her former policy, and not only did she endeavor to bring every sort of pressure to bear on this country but even strove to rob Japan of the natural fruits of her victory and to step into Japan's shoes as the dominant force in Manchuria, by either proposing the neutrality of the South Manchuria Railway or planning the construction of a line running parallel to the South Manchuria Railway.

The first signs of United States' pressure on Japan showed itself at the beginning of the 20th century in the San Francisco School Incident, which was followed by the enactment of anti-Japanese land laws by California and other states. Parallel with the spread of these and other anti-Japanese movements, which ultimately developed into the enactment of the Japanese Exclusion Act, this pressure increased in strength more and more concurrently with the enhancement of Japan's strength and her international position.

America's Far Eastern Policy

Regarding relations between Japan and America, America opened trade with China about the middle of the 19th century, and in 1853 she sent to these shores what are called "black ships" in order to compel the opening of this country. In its initial stage, the Far Eastern policy of America aimed chiefly at the development of commerce and at the provision of facilities for the propagation of Christianity. As, moreover, the Puritan conscience which had asserted itself prominently at the time of the founding of America was still in operation, relations between Japan and America were quite friendly.

As a result of the Spanish-American War of 1898, a group of imperialists and big navy advocates among the American people, small in number but very well organized, dragged the unorganized American masses, and eventually caused the United States to abandon its age-old tradition by annexing the Philippines. Thus the United States joined the European Powers in encroaching upon East Asia. Since that time, the United States' policy toward East Asia suddenly changed its character, producing an irreconcilable inconsistency between the puritanism and idealism which it upheld externally and the imperialistic schemes and designs which it harbored internally. Rather, it would be more accurate to say that the United States came to sugarcoat its imperialistic designs with high-sounding idealism.

When, after the First World War, Japan's national prestige so increased that she took rank among the five Great Powers of the world and secured the position as the stabilizing force in East Asia, America dared to condemn or restrain Japan at the Peace Conference in Paris in connection with the Shantung problem.

Tried to Thwart Japan

When the United States convened the Washington Conference in 1921-1922, it caused the abrogation of the Anglo-

Japanese Alliance which hitherto had served as the pillar of East Asiatic stability and, at the same time, endeavored to check the development of Japan's naval strength by the naval limitations' treaty and to restrict Japan's political influence by the Nine Power Pact. Since the attitude of the United States and Britain toward the Washington treaties was one aimed at restricting Japan, they dared in 1927, when they themselves became the target of China's anti-foreign movement, to send large forces to Shanghai with no hesitation or scruples, and finally, to dispatch their warships there for the joint bombardment of Nanking. They consistently maintained the policy of compelling Japan to observe strictly the various Washington treaties, causing China to conclude blindly the Nine Power Pact and other Washington treaties made by the Anglo-American Powers to checkmate Japan. Japan's faithful observance for a period of about ten years of the spirit of the Washington Conference was proof of her weakness vis-a-vis, the United States and Britain. Since then China, always expecting the support of the United States and Britain, extended and strengthened her policy of resisting and excluding Japan, so much so that she came to threaten the special position which Japan held in Manchuria since the Russo-Japanese War, against which Japan rose to liquidate the conciliatory policy which she had maintained for a decade. Thus, the Manchurian Incident broke out.

What I wish to stress especially at this time is that, although the United States and Britain are always professing friendship for China, what they are really after is China; that is, Chinese territory and resources, and not the Chinese People themselves. This is eloquently testified by the hard fact that the laws and statutes of the United States and Britain contain numerous anti-Chinese clause and stipulations.

Pressure Becomes Challenge

Upon the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, the United

States began to pursue a more flagrant policy of oppressing Japan by giving open support to China. With the beginning of the China Affair, its aid to China turned into actual collaboration with China against Japan. In such a manner, American pressure on Japan culminated in the challenge against our country.

Thus, as soon as the Manchurian Incident occurred, America determined to carry out more openly the policy of assisting anti-Japanese China and of applying pressure to Japan.

Subsequently, when the China Affair broke out, this assistance to China at length turned to collaboration with China against Japan. The pressure against Japan developed into a challenge against Japan.

On the other hand, America, seeing the rise of Germany, exerted herself to stress the menace of absolutism, and while doing this, she endeavored to expand armaments on one hand, and on the other, insisted on the joint defense of the Americas, thereby busily engaging in maneuvers designed to establish an American hegemony over the whole of the American continents and to bring about the formation of an anti-Axis bloc.

Built Huge Armaments

The situation in Europe became tense, and when the second great European war at last broke out, America spoke of the shifting of her line of defense to Europe, and carried out a gigantic program of armament expansion, to the great surprise of the world.

But it happened that in the great European war the combined British and French forces suffered serious defeats wherever they fought. Eventually, France capitulated and the British mainland found itself confronted by the menace of an invasion by foreign adversaries. Then the American Government made frantic efforts to send aid to Britain. At the same time, in East Asia, America laid plans to whittle down the

strength of Japan by presenting herself in the forefront of the assistance to the Chiang regime in the place of Britain, and she attempted to check the legitimate southward advance of Japan by means of every artifice.

In this manner, America exerted herself in Europe to put pressure on Germany. In East Asia, she hampered and restrained Japan in every possible way. Miscalculating that Japan had already exhausted the larger part of her strength after four years of the China Affair, the United States lightly-heartedly concluded that she was able to subjugate Japan by economic pressure. She first tried to intimidate our country by adopting the policy of placing an embargo on exports to our country. As a preliminary to general economic pressure against Japan, America abrogated the Japanese-American Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. At that time, Japan, in view of the development of a critical international situation in East Asia, was face to face with the serious problem of determining her important national policy. In view of the continued American pressure against her, Japan at last concluded the Tri-Partite Pact between herself, Germany and Italy.

Places Export Bans

Against this, the United States immediately placed a ban on the export of scrap iron, and in July 'last year, no sooner had Japan concluded with France the agreement for joint defense concerning French Indo-China than the United States took the measure of freezing Japanese assets and of prohibiting the export of petroleum to Japan. These are measures which may be compared in their seriousness with the opening of war itself rather than being mere economic pressure. In fact, President Roosevelt himself, in a speech made several days prior to the freezing of Japanese assets, declared to the effect that since this kind of economic pressure would have led to war with Japan, he had not dared to adopt it, thus pur-

posely using phraseology indicating the past tense which contained the serious implications predicting that economic pressure in the future would be taken on the assumption that it would lead to war. That the United States was prepared for war with Japan at that time is clear from the speech which Assistant Secretary of State Berle made at Des Moines after the outbreak of the war, on February 20 this year.

America's plottings against Japan did not end here. America gave an indication of her decision to keep Japan down by resorting to armed force if Japan was not to be brought to her knees by the application of economic pressure. Thus she caused the line of the so-called ABCD encirclement against Japan to be formed, and saw to it that the forces at the military bases which were connected with one another in the shape of a horse-shoe from the Aleutians to Chungking were reinforced. In this manner she attempted to intimidate our country.

Japan Did Utmost

The Japanese Government which had been paying serious attention to the question of maintaining peace in the Pacific exerted their continued efforts at Washington, since the spring of last year, to reach a satisfactory conclusion of the negotiations between the two countries, despite the fact that the United States had not only resorted in the middle of the negotiations to such provocative pressure against Japan as the freezing of our assets and the embargo on the export of petroleum, but also failed throughout the ten months of negotiations to show any spirit of mutual concession repeating only self-conceited and abstract arguments which completely ignored the reality of Greater East Asia. In spite of such an attitude on the part of the United States, the Japanese Government endeavored to the last moment to improve the situation in order to prevent the spread of war to the Pacific area. It was indeed with such an intention that the Japanese Govern-

ment instructed me to fly across the Pacific by airplane.

From a most practical consideration of diverting the critical situation which was steadily becoming more tense and of mitigating the strained atmosphere as much as possible, we presented a plan for a modus vivendi under the date of November 20 last year. Its contents are as have already been made public. In brief, its purpose was to restore the situation which prevailed prior to its aggravation by the freezing of Japanese assets and other measures. However, the United States Government, under the date of November 26, thrust its Note containing points which were clearly known from the very beginning to be absolutely unacceptable to Japan. These points included virtual cessation from the Tri-Partite Pact, the general withdrawal of Japanese Forces from China and French Indo-China, the non-recognition of the Nanking Government and the reconstitution of the so-called Washington Conference structure through the conclusion of a multilateral non-aggression treaty. Thus, the negotiations were brought to a final impasse which precluded all hopes of continuation. Subsequently, after the outbreak of the war, one American commentator who saw the United States Note of November 26 which was published together with other documents, declared that it was not difficult to understand why Japan was provoked into war, and charged as unpardonable the step taken by the United States Government of thrusting at Japan, without previous consultation with the people, an official document such as this which would naturally lead to war. With what frame of mind the United States Government handed this document to us at the time is very clearly shown by a document which they published after the commencement of the war.

Premeditation Proven

According to the report submitted under the date of January 24 by the Roberts Inquiry Commission, appointed on

December 18, of its investigations on the spot of the real situation relative to the great disaster at Pearl Harbor, it is clear that Secretary of State Hull reported to high army and navy officials, with whom he had constantly maintained close contact both at cabinet meetings and elsewhere, that the Japanese-American negotiations were carried on throughout conditions which precluded any possibility of their being reopened and that the Chief of the Army General Staff and the Chief of Naval Operations had respectively sent a secret order to Army and Navy Commanders in Hawaii to take necessary measures to begin operations.

In the light of these facts there can be no doubt that the United States Government was already definitely determined for war with Japan on November 26 last year. Indeed it was the United States that provoked the present war and absolutely not Japan. This has been made clear by an official document of the United States herself. In the report of the Roberts Inquiry Commission are to be found numerous facts that prove that the United States was steadily making preparations even before November 27, in conjunction with the developments of the Japanese-American negotiations, to engage in a war with Japan. Special attention is called to the fact that at the beginning of the Roberts Report is a passage that says: "It has been well known that the policy of the United States as to the affairs in the Pacific was in conflict with the policies of other Governments. It was realized by the State, War and Navy Departments of the United States that unless these policies were reconciled, war in the Pacific is inevitable." Moreover, in another part of the report it is mentioned that "in a letter of January 24, 1941, the Secretary of Navy advised the Secretary of War that the increased gravity of the Japanese situation had prompted restudy of the problem of the security of the Pacific fleet while in Pearl Harbor," and that furthermore, it was published as an observation at that time that "if war eventuated with Japan, it is believed it is easily possible

that hostilities would be initiated by a surprise attack upon the fleet or the naval base at Pearl Harbor" and that the time of the raid was supposed to be before dawn. It is indeed incomprehensible that the United States, even though the surprise attack which had come just as she had anticipated from nearly a year before, has been accusing Japan of having made a "treacherous attack." This is nothing but sophistry calculated to hide her own negligence.

U.S. Remained Adamant

At any rate, while even bearing in mind the inevitability of an American-Japanese war in this way, the United States refused to show any enthusiasm whatever in the American-Japanese negotiations, and furthermore, carried out the credit freezing ordinance and the prohibition of oil exports at the risk of war, and handed to us the Note of November 26 as an ultimatum. To explain the circumstances which promoted the United States to behave in this way, we have but to reach the following two-fold conclusion: Either the United States made light of Japan, considering that Japan, exhausted by the China Affair, would submit in the end to the economic pressure and accept the American demands in toto, or blindly concluded that even if Japan should resort to war, the country would have no power sufficient to fight the combined American-British forces as the enemy. According to information which reached my ears at that time, not a few in a section of the United States believed that the best method of unifying without dissent the American views on American entry into war, which were then suffering a growing split, would be to drive Japan into a tight corner and force the start of a Pacific war. From this consideration, significance attaches to a part of the foregoing instructions of the Chief of Naval Operations of the Navy and the Chief of Staff of the Army to the commanders of the navy and army at Hawaii to the effect that even in case war was unavoidable, the American side should

not take the initiative for belligerent action, that is, in other words, they said they would have Japan take the initiative for fighting.

Drove Japan Into Conflict

Thus, the United States drove Japan into war. Her objective, needless to say, lay in the oppression of Japan, which was the main aim of the American Far Eastern policy which made a rapid development since the possession of the Philippines, as I mentioned before. However, the United States apparently had no audacity to make this intention undisguisedly known to the people. As it was, the United States claimed that the naval attack on Pearl Harbor was treachery on the part of Japan and declared that the Americans should crush Japan in order to make it impossible for Japan to repeat such treachery. Then, the United States asserted that the Axis Powers should be overthrown to protect Liberalism and Democracy and carry out the so-called Atlantic Charter which was concluded between Roosevelt and Churchill in their mid-Atlantic conference. The American war objective is such an obscure one.

About this spring, however, Roosevelt himself named the present war "War of Survival." But he said that he was not satisfied with this name. It may well be said that by this, Roosevelt confessed his true mind. We cannot but imagine that Roosevelt has a serious ambition in his mind, that is, to place not only Japan but the whole world under American domination.

This sinister ambition of the United States was most clearly revealed in the speech of Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles last Memorial Day. According to the report of the New York Times, Undersecretary Welles stated, at that time, that one of the major causes of the present war was the refusal of the United States to join the League of Nations after the last World War, and then, after loudly advocating the

emancipation of various peoples and the establishment of racial equality after the present war, he enumerated the following points as the aims of the current war:

1. Punishment of individuals, groups and peoples responsible for the war.

2. Fixing of a considerably long period of truce after the war during which to disarm the aggressor nations.

3. The United States and its Allies to maintain and employ international police power until the establishment of a permanent system for the preservation of peace.

4. Upon the disposal of the economic and social problems after the war, an international organization to be formed by the United States and its Allies and the last conclusive peace conditions to be gradually decided upon.

5. The United States to take the leadership in the establishment of the post-war world order.

6. The continuation of the present Pan-American structure.

A Ridiculous Charge

In the light of British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden's statement, disseminating the propaganda fabricated between him and the Chungking regime early in March regarding the alleged ill-treatment of prisoners at Hongkong, the first item on the punishment of those responsible for the war is a most sinister threat, nothing less than punishment of the entire Japanese people.

The second item, concerning the disarming of the aggressor nations, and the third concerning the international police force are designed to strip Japan naked and place her under the armed tyranny of the United States, Britain and Chungking. The fourth and fifth are in brief calculated to put the post-war world under the thumb of the United States or the Anglo-Saxon peoples, and the sixth is aimed at keeping the Western Hemisphere as the sphere of influence of the United

States as at present.

When we consider the spirit contained in the Atlantic Charter concerning the establishment of world peace based on economic freedom and equality together with the above-mentioned fourth and fifth objectives, it is clear that the intention of the United States is to establish an economic structure in which other countries must depend upon the United States and that the United States wants to control other countries whenever she so desires through economic pressure or by the intimation of its application. It is, therefore, not difficult to imagine the conditions which the United States and Britain intend to impose upon our country as their war objective. In other words, it is their intention to place Japan in such a position that she will not be able to rise again as an independent nation. Herein lies one of the reasons why our nation must leave nothing undone to fight and win through to victory.

Thus the struggle between our country and the United States and Britain is a war to the finish in which we are to devour them or be devoured. It is only when we have completely won through that the various races of East Asia will be liberated from the centuries' old political and economic yokes that the Anglo-Saxons have kept fastened on them, and the various nations and races of East Asia will find their proper places in the total scheme in accordance with the great ideal of universal brotherhood on which Japan was founded. Only then shall we be able to establish an unshakable world peace hand-in-hand with the new order which our allies Germany and Italy are constructing in Europe. We must, therefore, push on toward our final goal of glorious victory whatever the hardships and ordeals that beset us.

That our enemies, the United States and Britain, possess vast economic strength and that because of this they are foes not to be despised, has of late been pointed out in various quarters. I will not, therefore, reiterate this point. Only, I wish to emphasize the fact that not only in the material sense,

but also in respect of will-power to prosecute the war, they are not enemies to be taken lightly.

Mistaken Conception

In some quarters it has been thought that since the United States and Britain are utilitarian countries, and especially because the United States is an assemblage of different races, national unity there is quite loose and can easily be made to crumble. But nothing could be a graver mistake. To be sure, the peoples of the United States and Britain sustained soul-shaking shocks from the Pearl Harbor debacle and the naval defeat off Malaya, and subsequent events must have severely deranged public psychology in these countries. And even today there may be some Americans who are impartially criticizing their Government for bringing on a situation which made war inevitable. Nevertheless, the Americans firmly believe that with the vast waters of the Atlantic and Pacific to protect their country on both sides the position of the United States is absolutely impregnable, and that by means of its tremendous material resources and manpower they must ultimately emerge the victor in a struggle with any Power. Moreover, the Government that is directing them has been in power for nine years, so that its influence is deeply rooted in all quarters of the country. It has also secured dictatorial powers as a result of various wartime legislative measures, by means of which, it is in a position to drag the people this way and that as it wills. Again, as it is energetically circulating the propaganda that war has been forced on the United States by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, even the Republican Party, the opposition, and the labor organizations which have their own peculiar positions to maintain, have all rallied under the incitement of the Government for the prosecution of the war. In the light of this fact, it is inconceivable that, whichever way the party and factional relations move within the country, there will be any change in the de-

termination of the United States to fight to the end. It is practically unimaginable, therefore, that even if the United States should hereafter sustain defeats of considerable severity America's will and power to fight will thereby be suddenly weakened.

We Must Not Fear

But we must on no grounds entertain any feeling of fear of the enemy. We have already crushed and are dominating the enemy on the Asiatic continent and over the vast expanse of land and sea in the North and South Pacific. By developing and mobilizing the resources of these areas, we can further strengthen our undefeatable structure in the material sense and, at the same time, consolidate our position for sure victory in the spiritual sense by emancipating, leading and cooperating with the various East Asiatic peoples in these regions. Furthermore, we Japanese people have an intense spirit of sacrifice and service fostered by our national tradition of more than two thousand years as well as our incomparable spirit of patriotism. But the greatest of all, we have above us, the boundless August Virtues of His Imperial Majesty, which have always shone on our country from time immemorial. Herein lies the firm basis of our faith in sure victory. Therefore, if we devote our total strength henceforth to the realization of our war objective in the military, diplomatic, political and economic fields, and further cement our bonds of cooperation with Germany, Italy and other allied countries, and to firmly uphold the spirit of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and extend our efforts to translate this spirit into action without permitting it to remain as mere lip-service, there is not the slightest doubt that we shall win ultimate victory; or rather, I believe it is not too much to say that the key to victory is already in our hands.

War Objective

It is needless to say that what we firmly hold as the objective of the War of Greater East Asia is to emancipate the various peoples of Asia who have for many years been subjected to the oppression and exploitation of such imperialistic countries as the United States, Britain and the Netherlands; and to enable them each to find its proper place and, at the same time, to lay an unshakable foundation for the peace of the world and the common prosperity of mankind by mutually ministering and complementing each other economically, spiritually and culturally not only within Greater East Asia but also between similar regional co-prosperity groups in Europe and America.

The intention of Britain which is attempting to obstruct our war objective is to enjoy exclusive prosperity by safeguarding its system of colonial empire, which has existed since the 19th century, and its monopolistic economic structure such as the so-called Ottawa Bloc under a new name. The scheme of the United States is to hold the Western Hemisphere as its exclusive sphere of influence under the high sounding name of Pan-American cooperation and good neighbor policy, etc., on the one hand, and, on the other, to constantly intervene in the affairs of Asia, Europe, Africa, etc., with its ideas of United States leadership of the world, international police force and economic sanctions, etc., contained in the above-mentioned peace principles of Undersecretary Welles, thereby realizing its ambition of world domination. In fact, many of the Central and South American countries have already witnessed that Pan-Americanism, the original object of which was the defense and cooperation of the Western Hemisphere, has inordinately and without their knowledge been expanded in its interpretation and practice. They have begun to interfere in East Asiatic affairs which are no concern of theirs by proclaiming war against or severing diplomatic relations with Japan in support of the United States.

In brief, all that we claim is "return to us the things that belong to us," but all that the United States and Britain want is to get not only the things that belong to them but also the things that belong to us. It is clear which demand is just and which unjust. It is an iron rule which has withstood the test of all ages, that wrong cannot prevail over right, and I am firmly convinced that the ultimate triumph of the rightful claim of our country over the unjust claims of the United States and Britain is the immutable rule of Heaven.

On this 26th day of November, memorable in the history of Japanese-American relations, I fervently hope that the hundred million people of our Empire further strengthen the wartime structure of our country both in the material and spiritual fields, and march forward into the second year of the War of Greater East Asia with renewed faith and determination.

A Few Thoughts on the Japanese-American Negotiations Chiefly in Reference to American-British Machinations

(Addressing the Osaka Chapter of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, February 27, 1943)

At a Press Conference between Cordell Hull, American Secretary of State, and newspaper men held in December last year, on the first anniversary of the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War, the American Secretary is reported to have replied to a question as to whether Ambassador Kurusu had come for the purpose of deceiving America, with a statement that discussion of this matter had better be left till fuller data had been collected. Now, in the White Book, "Peace and War", issued by the American State Department on January 3, this year, there is a passage which plainly states that as long ago as January 27, 1941, Ambassador Grew warned his government of the possibility of a large-scale attack upon Pearl Harbor. Ten months later, on November 3, just two days before I left Tokyo for America, Ambassador Grew is said to have sent another warning to the American government refuting the popular idea that it would be possible to cause Japan's collapse by any economic or financial pressure, and stressing the possibility of Japan taking, with "dramatic and dangerous suddenness", such measures as would make conflict with America unavoidable.

This is more than sufficient to show that the American Government had no reason to believe, then or since, that I flew to Washington with intent to deceive them. In other words, it clearly shows that the American Government had

absolutely no reason to doubt my sincere intention to further the negotiations. On the contrary they were fully aware from their own Ambassador's reports without going into the question of the propriety or otherwise of Ambassador Grew's conclusions that the situation prevailing at that time was so tense that a step in the wrong direction might well prove fatal. Why, therefore, did America hand us a note on November 26, 1941, which was in fact tantamount to an ultimatum? Why did Cordell Hull, Secretary of State hand us a note which prompted him practically simultaneously to inform both the War and Navy Secretaries that the negotiations were virtually terminated and telling them to make active preparations for war? This is the first question which arises from any impartial study of the causes and circumstances which led up to war between Japan and America.

There is no need to repeat that in America respect must be paid, at least outwardly, to public opinion, in the conduct of politics. Now, about the time of my arrival in Washington in the middle of November, 1941, many people in America held the opinion that in the event of war between Japan and America, Japan would collapse within a few months, or, indeed, weeks. One member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who notoriously held this opinion, even went to the extreme length of asserting that it was quite useless to continue negotiations with Japan, and demanded that Ambassador Kurusu be thrown overboard into the Atlantic. Nevertheless, I cannot persuade myself that it was the desire of the majority of the American people to apply such pressure to Japan as would, as in fact it did, close the door on all Japanese hopes of a just and peaceful settlement with America and make armed conflict unavoidable.

Here we know that Tokyo's opinion accurately mirrors Japan's feelings. In the same way it is recognized in Europe that Berlin's opinion is Germany's opinion. But the tone of the press in New York and Washington by no means neces-

sarily reflect American public opinion. America, is a vast country. Each separate region, the East, the West, the South, the Middle East, has its own distinct economic, political and social interests. Each of the component states of the Union has, moreover, ever since the founding of the United States, enjoyed a certain degree of constitutional sovereignty. It is, therefore, impossible to gauge American public opinion as a whole by merely considering the attitude taken by newspapers published in Washington and New York. A survey made by me, in the light of this fact, in the brief period following my arrival in America, plainly showed that the majority of the people in the United States, particularly west of Chicago and in the South, were definitely opposed to war with Japan. A statement made by former President Hoover in an address delivered in New York on May 19, last year, to the effect that up to the time of the outbreak of hostilities at Pearl Harbor 75 per cent of the American people were opposed to war supports this contention. Why, then, did the government of an America who claims that her way of life and national policies are governed by respect for public opinion, disregard that public opinion and serve on Japan an official note which represented a direct challenge to war? This is the second question which at once arises in studying the underlying causes of the war.

The reply to both questions lies partly in America's gross under-estimation of Japan's real power. There were circles in America who clung to the idea that Japan must have practically exhausted her national resources and strength in the course of over four years' hostilities with China. America's leaders, therefore, may still have thought it possible to apply the finishing stroke and bring about Japan's collapse through economic pressure alone, without war, in spite of Ambassador Grew's warnings to the contrary. It is also possible that New Dealers who were then trying to push through certain drastic social and economic measures in America against active

public opposition, deliberately provoked the hostilities with Japan which they dared not openly initiate hoping in this way to unify public opinion, also sharply divided over the question of isolation or intervention, and at the same time forced through the much disputed measures more easily under war time conditions.

There may have been other complications in America's internal situation which contributed their quota to the conflict with Japan, but from my observations, a deeper cause lies in the simultaneously joint and rival machinations of America and Britain in international politics in recent years.

Needless to say America and Britain have extremely close racial and Historic relations, but what I want to point out specifically is the trend of their relations since the conclusion of the Munich agreement in 1938. In making that agreement, Neville Chamberlain, then British Prime Minister, was motivated by the desire to ease the desperately strained situation between Britain and Germany, and at the same time relax the acute international tension then prevailing in Europe. Europe heaved an almost audible sigh of relief that a way had been found out of the crisis, other than the war which had seemed absolutely inescapable. The great majority of the British people were also overjoyed over the agreement, and Chamberlain was greeted with a delirious ovation on his return to London. The Winston Churchill-Anthony Eden clique, now in power in Britain, however, violently opposed Chamberlain's appeasement policy. A powerful section in America also gave active support to this group from across the Atlantic.

At the time of the Munich crisis I happened to be in Europe and had a good opportunity to follow the situation closely. An American diplomat gave me his confidential opinion that, judging by the trend in America, his country was intent on inciting war between Germany and Britain, but, having made no practical preparations, would be in no position to extend aid to France if hostilities actually eventuated. The Euro-

pean situation again reached a critical stage. The murder of a German diplomat by a Jew in November, 1938, served to intensify the anti-Jewish campaign in Germany. This, in turn, led to violent anti-German agitation in America, where Jewish influence is powerfully felt in many circles. In his message to Congress in January, 1939, President Roosevelt himself took the lead in this virulent anti-German campaign. In September, 1939, the European war broke out. Official documents seized by the German forces in Warsaw, Paris and elsewhere, which have since been made public, conclusively prove that American diplomatic and other agents in Poland, France, and other countries in Europe, had actively encouraged those countries to assume an intransigent uncompromising attitude toward Germany, and deliberately incited them to war.

A definite alignment between America and Britain, or rather between the Roosevelt and Churchill factions in those countries, came into being about this time. As the American diplomat just mentioned confided to me, America was at that time neither fully prepared nor determined to enter into war on the side of Britain and France. America's military moves and diplomatic schemes were apparently based on the calculation that the combined fighting power of Britain and France was enough to check the first German onslaught, that Germany would thus be forced into a war of attrition in the trenches as in the first World War, and that, therefore, all America had to do was to stand safely in the background as the arsenal for Britain and France and keep them supplied them with munitions to America's no small profit. This plan, however miscarried. Once Germany started her blitz campaign her forces swept everything before them. The so-called "impregnable" Maginot Line was pierced in one swift thrust. The result was the Dunkirk debacle which brought about the defeat of France and left the fate of Britain hanging in the balance. America, panic-stricken, placed her entire

stock of arms and ammunition at Britain's disposition, and indications are not lacking that President Roosevelt reached the definite decision to plunge his country into the war about this time.

Britain, on the other hand, at the cross-roads of life and death, was faced with a situation so critical that there was no way for her to save herself but to drag America into the war also. From then on Britain stopped at nothing in her determined effort to involve America directly in the hostilities. In the negotiations between Japan and America Britain's whole attitude was plainly based on this now fixed British policy of getting America into the war at all costs. Up till that time Britain had been skilfully using America as a watchdog for her interests in China and elsewhere in Greater East Asia, while she herself was tied down fighting Germany. If, now, the negotiations between Japan and America could only be abortive and war between Japan and America result, Britain could not only count on continued use of America to protect her possessions in Asia and the Pacific Basin, but, at the same time, assure herself of full American participation in the European war.

Viewed in this light, Britain's inner thoughts and manoeuvres in connection with the Japanese-American negotiations become transparently clear. Around November, 1941, at about the time I left Tokyo for America, it was reported that Duff Cooper and his clique in Shonan, then called Singapore, favored a strong policy toward Japan, and were actively recommending to their government steps calculated to precipitate hostilities between Japan and America and thus force the still somewhat reluctant American people into war on Britain's side. A Britisher just returned from a tour of inspection of Singapore and other places in the southern area in the company of Duff Cooper, who happened to be on the same plane with me from Manila to America, on his hurried way home to London, told me that it was already too late for any

Japanese-American negotiations to succeed. What is more, this same Britisher in various interviews with newspaperman at Honolulu, San Francisco, and elsewhere, indulged in active propaganda nicely calculated to obstruct the Japanese-American negotiations. Then, at the very time my plane was held up forty-eight hours at Midway Island, due, apparently, to some engine trouble, Churchill declared that should hostilities break out between Japan and America, Britain would enter the war on America's side within an hour. This gesture was obviously designed to intimidate Japan on the one hand and, on the other, to encourage the pro-war faction in America. On my arrival in Washington, Britain furthermore declared that she would leave all matters connected with the Japanese-American negotiations to America. From all this it is quite clear that Britain's anxiety for America's entry into the war was so great that far from taking any steps tending to promote a peaceful and amicable settlement of the Japanese-American negotiations, she actively desired, and worked for, their termination in war between Japan and America.

At the so-called ABCD Conference held just before delivery of the note of November 26, attended by representatives of America, Australia, Britain, Chungking and the Dutch Government, the British representative was also apparently guided by this same policy in steering the proceedings in the desired direction. In this connection I may say that the alarmed Australian representative himself approached me immediately after presentation of the ultimatory note to find out whether there was no way left to retrieve the perilous situation. He then took his concern to the British representative, imploring him to do something to lessen the explosive tension and avert the impending catastrophe. His proposals were, however, calmly ignored by the British representative who had apparently achieved just the results he desired. The Dutch and Chungking representatives have been reported as supporting a strong policy at the conference. They were,

however, mere puppets manipulated by America and Britain and had to do and say more or less what they were told. The Chungking representative, for instance, was not invited to the first session of the conference until after the other representatives had already met, and was then greeted with a request to endorse what had already been decided upon.

In this way, it can be seen that Britain's attitude played no small part in leading the Japanese-American negotiations to a break-down. This, however, should not be taken as implying in any sense that America was content to be led by Britain, or simply danced to the latter's tune. On the Contrary there are abundant indications that America, while apparently lending herself to Britain's schemes was in fact following her own deep-laid plans to supplant Britain in the realm of international politics, finance and economy, and take over the dominant position till then retained by her British rival in this field.

Looking at this aspect of the matter in retrospect it can be seen how Canada, Australia, and almost all the Latin American countries were drawn into the American orbit one after the other in swift succession, once America entered the war. Take the Central and South American countries for example. After the first World War, Britain, heavily indebted to America, had been obliged to surrender to the United States many of the rights and interests she once possessed in those countries, as a result the influence of the United States in Latin America increased by leaps and bounds, while that of Britain waned proportionately. Since the outset of the present war Britain has already incurred still greater liabilities in the United States for which she has been forced to pledge, among other things, her remaining rights and interests in Latin America. On the other hand, the Central and South American countries have now lost practically the whole of their European markets. These were the chief markets for their principal exports, consisting of agricultural produce and live-

stock. As a result of the sudden cessation of this European trade Latin America was faced with an acute financial and economic crisis in which it had no recourse but to look for credit in the United States. This, in turn, placed the Latin American countries still more completely in North American power. Since its entry into the war, the United States, using its great economic power as a lever, has forced one Latin American country after another either to declare war on, or to sever diplomatic relations with Japan, Germany and Italy. Under American pressure Japanese, German and Italian subjects who had succeeded in establishing themselves peacefully in those countries after long years of arduous and constructive effort, were subjected to wholesale deportation or internment, and their assets either confiscated or frozen. By such means America, already successful in eliminating British capital from central and South America sought to eradicate legitimate Japanese, German and Italian rights and interests from those regions also. The aim is obvious to obtain a clear field in Central and South America, free of all rivals, and bring the entire continent under complete and exclusive North American Domination.

American ambitions do not stop here, however. They are squarely aimed at world domination. The friction and scarcely veiled conflict now developing between America and Britain in connection with India and North Africa are clear testimony to this ultimate American ambition. In an attempt to disarm criticism at home and abroad, however, America never ceases to deny her designs for world hegemony and disguise them as best she can. Yet, American statesmen, including President Roosevelt himself, in talking of post-war reconstruction of the world, all lay particular stress on the total disarmament of Japan, Germany and Italy, and the establishment of an international police force under the exclusive control of America, Britain and satellites. Vice-President Wallace in a speech made on December 28 last year, even goes

so far as to talk of the need for supervising the educational systems of Japan and Germany after the war.

What do these utterances reflect if not the sinister design of world control by force?

In the Atlantic Charter America and Britain included freedom of world economy as one of their supposed aims, it is true. In almost the next breath, however, Winston Churchill, in a speech at the Mansion House on November 10 last year, defiantly vindicated Britain's exclusive imperialism and defended the British Empire bloc policy established at Ottawa. This speech drew definitely hostile criticism in America from Wendell Willkie and his party, and led to angry controversy between America and Britain. America on her part, however, shows no signs of any intention of modifying her own high tariff policy, which together with the closed Ottawa bloc may well be regarded as the cancer of world economy.

After the first World War America suddenly emerged from her position as a debtor country to the status of a creditor power. This being so, the laws of international economy made it necessary for America to rest content with an unfavorable balance of trade and to do her best to facilitate international trade. Far from accepting this responsibility which accompanied her changed position as a creditor nation, however, America raised an impassable barrier to world trade in the form of a high tariff wall, and imposed other restrictions on imports from abroad. Refusing payment in kind, America, furthermore, demanded gold in payment of both principal and interest on its foreign loans. This resulted in the accumulation of mountains of gold, hoarded away in mountain vaults in Kentucky, for which no profitable use has since been found. On the other hand, international economy, till then operated on a gold basis, broke down, plunging the world into complete financial and economic confusion. American statesmen from the President down, have freely aired their views as to the desirability of making changes in

their untenable economic policy, but none has shown any intention whatsoever of modifying America's high tariff policy, which would be the simplest way to improve the situation, since this is the main cause of the trouble, as I have just indicated. Freedom of world economy as advocated by America and Britain is, therefore, nothing but freedom to suit their own convenience. In giving lip service to this principle, moreover, neither country has ever undertaken to refrain from future illegal freezing of assets, embargoing exports, or other economic pressure such as they applied against Japan. Yet all these measures constitute the very antithesis of free world economy. From this it is clear that America and Britain intent on seizing every possible advantage accruing from other countries' economic dependence on them, are determined to keep themselves free to bring economic pressure to bear at any time on any country which does not meekly obey their arbitrary behests.

What does this one-sided conception of economic freedom indicate, if not a definite plan for absolute world domination?

It should be clearly understood that ultimate world domination by America, toward which America's war aims are ever more unmistakably directed, is fundamentally opposed to America's traditional foreign policy, as laid down in President Washington's famous farewell speech. This accounts for the unrest and misgivings felt by a large section of the American public. Ever since the war started the American Government have spared no effort to impress America's supposed war aims on their people through radio, press and all other propaganda means at their disposal. Nevertheless, the latest Gallup Poll shows that 30 to 40 per cent of the American people are still in doubt, after over one year of war, as to the true war aims of their own country. Voices have, moreover, been raised more than once in the American Congress itself, demanding definite clarification of America's real war aims. Opposition to the proposed expansion of the Presi-

dent's dictatorial powers, and the demand for investigation into the operations of the so-called Lend-Lease Act are further indications of the growing mistrust in America of the Government's world hegemony policy. These developments in the political situation in America caused considerable concern in England early this year being regarded as definite indication that the isolationist tendency was gaining ground. The Australian press also reports that Prime Minister Curtin, fearing that such a tendency if left unchecked might affect American aid to Australia, proposed to visit America himself in an attempt to improve the situation.

The White Book recently issued by the American Government, the emphasis placed on the so-called favorable turn in the war situation, Roosevelt's exaggerated references to the progress of war production in his message of January 7 to Congress, and more recently, the theatrical meeting staged between Roosevelt and Churchill at Casablanca, are all moves adopted to check this definite anti-Governmental trend in America. In spite of these political difficulties, however, the hold of the American and British Governments on their respective countries insofar as active prosecution of the war is concerned, shows no present signs of weakening. On the contrary it is being steadily strengthened.

America and Britain, boasting as usual of their abundant material resources, are now busy asserting that a turning-point in the war situation in Europe, North Africa and the South Pacific is near, when they will launch a general counter-offensive. These are pure propaganda assertions destined to raise the morale of their own peoples on the one hand and to mislead neutral countries on the other. Following the recent Casablanca meeting, Roosevelt and Churchill have now started to talk of demanding the Axis Powers' unconditional surrender. Churchill even went the length of asserting that America and Britain will destroy Japan, after Germany and Italy have been brought to their knees. When these two

gentlemen indulge in wild propaganda talk of this kind, however, it should not be too lightly dismissed as sheer and absolute nonsense. Behind the talk of "unconditional surrender" is clearly discernible the current Anglo-American idea that the terms of the Versailles Treaty were still not rigorous enough, since they failed to prevent Germany's resurrection or her recourse to arms to fight for her freedom once more. The use of these two words reveals a savage desire on the part of Britain and America to destroy Germany once and for all in this war should it be in their power to do so, and reduce her to a state of impotence from which there could be no redemption. In the same way this phrase applied to Japan indicates Anglo-American awareness that the awakening of all oriental races under the stimulus of Japan's swift progress represents a major obstacle to their basic policy of colonial exploitation, and plainly betrays their ravening desire to trample Japan into the dust and thus clear the way for the attainment of their unholy ambitions in Asia.

These designs are so deeply rooted that there is no alternative in the present war but to crush the enemy or be crushed. In this war there is no room for any half-way compromise. We must devote our entire energies to overwhelming the enemy, while consolidating our invincible position and implanting an immutable faith in our cause in the minds of the billion peoples of East Asia. The work of consolidating the common prosperity region in Greater East Asia must be continued to the point where an impregnable position is attained that will defy all attempts by any hostile Power to disturb it. There is no other way, no short-cut or by-path, to attain the objectives of the war in which we are now engaged.

In this connection it may be recalled that even while we were interned in America before our repatriation, the principle of racial quality was being raised by certain sections of the American people in the hope of influencing the Indian independence movement and tranquilizing the Chungking

regime. In view of our success in liberating the greater part of East Asia this principle is apparently being given increasing attention in America. Nevertheless, to our knowledge, America has so far failed to amend even a single line of her immigration act or to strike out the anti-Chinese provisions in her laws.

Our contention that world peace can best be established by setting up regional machinery and inter regional cooperation is also gradually coming to the surface in America and Britain. American Vice-President Wallace, in the address delivered on December 28 last year referred to earlier in this talk, stated that the principle of regionalism has considerable value in international affairs. The Vice-President pointed out that while European Powers are not without interest in South American problems, these problems are not of paramount importance to them. In the same way local European problems are not of paramount importance to the countries of the Western Hemisphere. He concluded, therefore, that questions of a purely regional nature should be left to the region concerned for settlement. This theory closely approaches Japan's idea of Greater East Asia as a region of common prosperity in which problems concerning East Asia should be settled among the countries of the region without outside interference. In practice, however, America has never remotely considered the problems of East Asia in the light of this principle. The American Government is also now doing its utmost to repress the isolationists in America and others who hold that this regional idea be translated into practice. President Wilson's fourteen points, so long ago gone with the wind, offer another glaring example of the customary discrepancy between Anglo-American professions and practices. So also does the prostitution of the spirit of the Washington Conference by America and Britain once that conference was over. This being so, we must throw our whole weight into the conflict and fight it out until America

and Britain at last give up their totally unwarranted superiority complex, lose their insolent contempt for other nations, abandon their blind racial prejudice, and themselves finally surrender unconditionally to the dictates of their own too long dormant conscience. The only way to bring this about is to shake the enemy's overweening pride and self-confidence to their very foundations through determined and successful prosecution of the war.

Before closing, let me avail myself of this opportunity to offer my heartfelt thanks to the officers and men of the Imperial Forces on the battle-front for their recent brilliant military and naval achievements as well as for their gallant fighting. The war aims of America and Britain are based upon their own selfish interests, pure and simple, with the result that the hidden conflict has recently come to the surface between those two countries. In sharp contrast, co-operative relations between Japan and China have been further tightened as a sequel to the declaration of war by the National Government of China upon America and Britain on January 9. Furthermore, Prime Minister General Hideki Tojo in his address before the Diet on January 28 pledged anew independence to Burma and the Philippines. Let me sincerely rejoice with you in the smooth and steady progress of the brilliant construction of East Asia. Let me also pledge with you that we, one hundred million strong, united solidly as one body will throw our whole might into the prosecution of this war, firm in the conviction that justice will in the end prevail and our efforts be crowned with ultimate victory.

Why Should America Deny Freedom and Happiness to the Peoples of East Asia?

(A Radio Message to the U.S. People on American Independence Day, July 4, 1948)

Today falls on Independence Day. No doubt you are celebrating this memorable day acclaiming the blessings of liberty which our forefathers fought for, and acquired, over a century and a half ago. In all probabilities, however, you are not aware of the fact that you are waging a war—costly and brutal war—in order to deny and deprive the one billion peoples of East Asia of the same boon of liberty for which you are today finding cause to rejoice. It is, indeed, singular that the United States who has continually posed as the champion of liberty should now oppose by force the liberation of the peoples in East Asia.

It is still fresh in our memories that the United States played the part of a zealous protector of the principles of the integrity of China and of the Open Door. But the very fact that the Chinese sovereignty and its exercise were made the object of numerous international agreements to none of which China was allowed to be a party is an indisputable proof that China was not permitted the enjoyment of a status of equality with other Powers. China, in a word, was a mere pawn in the game of Power Politics. The development of the present war, however, has at last brought about an epochal change in the situation of East Asia. What China has desired and demanded for many years past is now being steadily realized in the most amicable manner, through genuine and genial cooperation between the Japanese Government and

the Chinese National Government at Nanking. Thus has China come to occupy the position to play an important role in the concerted effort of all the peoples of East Asia on an equal footing with Japan and other countries of this sphere. How could, one naturally wonders, the United States, who has always claimed to be a friend of China, object to and still less obstruct, such a course of policy?

As regards the Philippines, the islands have been promised independence within this year and the aspirations which the Filipino people have entertained for the past several decades since Jose Rizal died for them are about to be completely realized. Incidentally, America's imperialistic expansion in the Orient which caused her to be drawn into international entanglements will be terminated once and for all.

As to the independence of India and the emancipation of other peoples of Asia, it is glaringly inconsistent with the ideals which inspired the founding of the United States that America, of all the nations in the world, should choose to fight to deny these peoples the freedom which they so ardently desire. As a matter of fact, there is reason to believe that the majority of your people are at heart sympathetic towards this rising tide of movement for liberty in East Asia. Was it not George Washington who said that the love of liberty is interwoven with every ligament of your hearts?

When all the factors that led to the outbreak of the hostilities between Japan and America are coolly and comprehensively considered, America's responsibility for provoking and precipitating the present war becomes irrefutably clear, notwithstanding the whole array of propaganda to the contrary. Let record speak. It is America who, by bringing pressure to bear on us politically and economically, has forced Japan to gird on the sword in defence of her national existence. America has slipped, so to speak, into the war, misguided by irresponsible leaders. Little wonder, therefore, that America's war aims are extremely nebulous. Little wonder

again that not a few compatriots of yours are bewildered as to why America is at war—America who could in tranquillity have enjoyed peace and prosperity, menaced as she was by none at all.

You are, I know, told that the Atlantic Charter epitomizes your war aims. Very well. Why is it, then, that many of your eminent leaders are pleading for the hegemony of Great Powers—at the expense of smaller nations? The case of Poland is merely one of the numerous examples that eloquently reveal the untenability of the so-called Atlantic Charter.

Japan's war aims, on the other hand, are directed toward the establishment of an enduring world peace through the liberation of East Asia. Indeed, the future destiny of East Asia—these vast regions comprising teemning millions—depends upon the outcome of the present war.

Already our efforts in constructing a new East Asia are gathering great momentum, thanks to the spirited and spontaneous cooperation of the one billion people marching victoriously forward toward their ideal; and brick by brick and stone by stone the imposing edifice is taking shape steadily—the edifice of liberty and freedom. In fact, in proffering the pledges of independence and participation in government to the various peoples of this part of the world, Japan was actuated by her desire to respond to the legitimate aspirations of these peoples to regain their proper places which had hitherto been encroached upon by foreign Powers.

This policy of restoring freedom to Asia is often called a new policy. As a matter of fact, however, it is, as recently pointed out by Foreign Minister Shigemitsu, not at all new. It aims at realizing the ideal of Japan since her founding as a nation, that of ultimately rendering the Universe into a single harmonious family, each nation being assigned its own proper place so as to enjoy international relations of concord and conciliation. We have endeavored in the past to carry out this policy, but its realization has been sadly hampered

by maneuvers and machinations on the part of the Anglo-Saxon Powers who made it their point to alienate and antagonize the countries and peoples of East Asia, one against another. These adverse foreign influences have now been eliminated and our ideal has, at last, been given its first opportunity of realization.

The recent trend in the conduct of America's foreign policy in both Europe and Asia has become ambiguous and arbitrary, radically deviating from the path of its traditional diplomacy, the principles of which have been laid down by George Washington. Something like a century and a half ago, America, through her own independence and through President Monroe's declaration in 1823, laid the foundation for a new order in the Western Hemisphere. But due mainly, I believe, to the rapid rising of her wealth and power as well as the mounting world-wide imperialistic tendency, America's foreign policy has assumed an increasingly interventionist tone involving her in frequent international controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to her concerns. Especially American policy toward Latin America, became at one time so rampantly aggressive as to invite such critical appellations as the "Big Stick Policy," "Dollar Diplomacy" and "Yankee Imperialism." It was not, as you all remember, unusual for America until recently to station armed forces on foreign soil for long periods—for more than ten years in some cases—in spite of criticism abroad and opposition at home.

Of late, as a result of numerous bitter experiences, the United States has been forced to adopt the so-called Good Neighbor Policy toward the countries of Latin America. But even this policy has repeatedly been perverted and wantonly extended. Under the guise of Inter-American solidarity, the United States has compelled her southern neighbors either into declaring war against or rupturing diplomatic relations with the Axis Powers, including Japan. The United States

has thus caused these Latin American countries to meddle, though indirectly, in the affairs of East Asia where they have no political interest at all. When the present war hysteria in America subsides and the Pan-American Good Neighbor Policy returns to its proper pattern, those Latin American republics will, I trust, find themselves among the first countries to recognize the justice of our new East Asia policy.

The present World War is being waged with great intensity and on a vast scale, on land, sea and in the air. But even more intensive and extensive are the great changes which are now taking place in the internal and external relations of the belligerent countries as well as of the rest of the world, especially in the economic and social fields. Viewed in this sense, the present war may be regarded as a revolutionary transformation of human civilization and culture. Again, viewed from the standpoint of Occidental history, this transformation may be regarded as a sudden resurgence of the tide of progress which having gradually risen after the Dark Ages, had for a time been dammed up by the Versailles Treaty. Therein do we find the inherent legitimacy and historical inevitability of the new European order advocated by Germany and Italy. If, however, the United States and Britain do not, or will not, realize this obvious trend of the world in general and continue their futile efforts to restore the status quo ante bellum under such an obsolete and ossified slogan as the "preservation of democracy," they will, surely be overwhelmed and submerged by the irresistible march of time.

From the viewpoint of the peoples of East Asia the past century has been a period when the West dominated the East. But the time of inescapable reaction has arrived. The coming century is clearly the era of the restoration to Asia of its rightful inheritance. Asiatic liberation will be brought about by the concerted efforts of Japan and her neighbors who are now engaged in constructing a New East Asia, freed entirely of the baneful influence of Anglo-Saxon machinations.

In the meantime, our solidarity with Germany and Italy is becoming evermore close and our collaboration in the execution of the war leaves nothing to be desired. Thus, we will fight on, with full confidence in ultimate victory, until the day when the New Order shall be established both in Europe and in Asia.

A Warning to Latin America Against U.S. Imperialistic Designs

(Radio Speech Delivered on September 17, 1943)

"Latin Americans;

"About one and a half centuries ago, your forefathers fought bravely for the freedom of your respective countries. Today we are fighting for the emancipation of East Asia. We receive strong inspiration from the immortal names of Simon Bolivar, San Martin, O'Higgins, Sucre, and other heroes of the South American War of Independence, and the glorious history of those battles fought in liberty's cause at Ayacucho, Junnin, Chacabuco, Maipu, etc., renews our own unshakable confidence in ultimate victory in our present fight for freedom.

"The War of Independence of South America was fought for the liberation of young rising colonies from the blockade and the restraint placed on their free development by the Old World. It was a war for progress, a war to realize the new hopes of modern times against the outworn conservatism of the Middle Ages.

"The mighty wave of liberation of oppressed peoples which swept Europe toward the end of the eighteenth century and spread to the New World in the early part of the nineteenth, has rolled on to the shores of East Asia. Being urged by the same spirit that impelled the South Americans to fight so valiantly for their liberty, we are now fighting to attain our independence and freedom.

"At one time, gentlemen, the British and the North Americans, too, fought for liberty, but once having attained their

political and economic supremacy, they allowed their love of freedom at least for others, to be petrified, though at no time did they cease to proclaim themselves the foremost champion of liberty for the entire human race. In regard to East Asia alone, for example, to what people, let me ask, have the self-styled champions of liberty ever accorded any semblance of freedom?

"Look at the Philippines, gentlemen! General Emilio Aguinaldo, that great patriot, who headed the Independence Movement of the then Spanish Colony, having obtained from the Government of North America a definite promise that Philippine independence would be granted, fought with his valiant troops side by side with the Americans against the Spanish forces, contributing in no small measure to American success. Once the Spanish-American War was over, however, not only were the Philippines defrauded of the promised independence, but Aguinaldo himself, together with other outstanding champions of Philippine independence, was subjected to unrelenting persecution and forced to abandon all political activities.

"Confronted with the constant menace that the American armed forces represented, and suffocated under the oppressive power of the almighty dollar, the Filipinos' spirit of independence and self-respect were gradually stifled. Genuine Philippine culture, oriental in origin, brought to maturity under the stimulating influences of the Catholic religion and Latin culture, which once flourished in the fair islands of the Southern Pacific, was crowded out by the materialistic American culture forcibly implanted there. The result was that the islands, far from being granted the promised independence, were converted into a North American colony.

"Look at China! The United States, who presumes to proclaim herself that country's friend, has not yet taken any tangible measures to reform her anti-Chinese legislation. The British and Americans do not care a bit for the welfare of

the Chinese people. What they seek is nothing but the exploitation of China's vast territories and natural resources. Accordingly, although China has at last succeeded in freeing herself from the unequal positions originally imposed by the Occidental Powers and attaining full independence thanks to Japan's generous assistance, Britain and America still persist in their endeavor to force Chungking to continue resistance against Japan. Their obvious intention is to sap China's strength so that she may later be sacrificed to their customary imperialistic machinations.

"Look at Burma, which has been enabled by Japan to recover her long-lost independence. How much she had to suffer under British tyranny!

"Finally, look at the four hundred million inhabitants of India, who are still groaning under the British yoke as they have been for the past several centuries.

"What the Anglo-American Powers are attempting today is to force the whole of East Asia into that abyss of slavery into which India was thrown more than three long centuries ago, and where she has been kept enchained ever since.

"This patent fact should be well understood by the nations of Latin America, each of whom in the past had the bitter experience of being made the victim of Anglo-American imperialism, imperialism whose menace is in no wise lessened today because it is disguised under various euphemistic names which may sound sweeter to unsuspecting ears.

"Latin Americans! The history of Japanese-American relations for the past thirty or forty years is a record of constant provocations to which the United States has subjected Japan. In the negotiations held between the two countries previous to the outbreak of the present war, it was made abundantly clear that the United States intended to strangle Japan economically. What America was actually doing amounted to nothing less than the declaration of economic war against Japan. But Japan invariably refrained from

any step that might aggravate the difficult situation and did her utmost to arrive at an amicable solution. Japan tried all peaceful means of attaining her wholly pacific ends against the American intransigence, but in vain, and at last, with her back to the wall, she was left no choice but to defend her national honor and existence sword in hand.

"I tell you, gentlemen, that the whole nation of Japan is resolved as one man to fight out the present war, being conscious that not only the life of Japan, but the life and liberty of all the nations of Greater East Asia depend on its outcome.

"The basic ideal of Japan, as it has ever been since the founding of the Empire, is none other than that all humanity may live as one single family of order and harmony, each nation enjoying to the maximum degree the full benefits of liberty, peace, prosperity and progress. The guiding principle in establishing the common prosperity sphere in the region of Greater East Asia consists, not in its isolated existence for the enjoyment of exclusive prosperity, but in making the sphere cooperate with the rest of the world on an equal footing for the benefit of the whole world. Japan's policy toward China now being put into practice, is based on such an ideal.

"Shanghai concessions have been restored to China, and for the first time since the Opium War, she is once more mistress of her own home, and the four hundred million Chinese are rallying round the colors of their united movement for emancipation.

"In the Philippines, as in Burma, the wreckage of war has already been cleared away, and steady progress is being made in political and economic reconstruction. By the help rendered by Japan, Burma could declare her independence, as you know, on the first of August of this year. Very shortly the Philippines will be able to do likewise.

"In India, anti-British disturbances are breaking out all over the country, while the new Indian independence movement led by Subhas Chandra Bose has lit in the hearts of

India's long oppressed four hundred millions a flaming ray of hope that can never again be extinguished.

"Gentlemen, at long last, as a result of Japan's brilliant victories in the cause of justice, the ardent spirit and the burning desire for liberty of the thousand million people of Greater East Asia are breaking down and surging over the barriers behind which their occidental oppressors kept them pent up. No matter what nation may make the attempt, no matter what measures they may adopt, it will never again be possible to turn the tide of this mighty movement of the peoples of Greater East Asia.

"Latin Americans, Pan-Americanism was founded on those high and noble ideals set forth by Simon Bolivar—peace, progress, liberty and independence—those self-same ideals which animate the peoples of Greater East Asia in their epic fight today. On the other hand, the United States of America, far from adhering to these sacred ideals, has, in its attempt to put its selfish policy of world domination into effect, forced the young and pacific nations of Central and South America to take part in the present violent conflagration, wilfully sacrificing them on the altar of purely North American interests.

"The North Americans attempt to bind the Latin Americans with a chain of golden dollars through skilful manipulation of their Lend-Lease Law. They have started not only to destroy the previously mutually beneficial economic relations between Latin America on the one hand and Europe as well as East Asia on the other, but even to eliminate the economic interests of Britain, their own ally, from Latin America.

"In the United States, certain sections of the press and the public are raising a considerable outcry for clarification of America's true war aims. But the undeniable fact is that their really unavoidable objectives for which our enemies have plunged their peoples into this fearsome conflict cannot, by their very nature, be openly admitted. Hence, the confu-

sion on the question of Anglo-American war aims even within their own countries.

"Gentlemen, I hope you will realize that one of the principal war aims for which the North Americans are fighting so desperately is to force the mountain of gold buried in a remote corner of the Kentucky Hills into circulation throughout the world again. This gold amassed by America in the selfish hope of world financial domination now lies a useless pile of sterile metal, a monument to the futility of her short-sighted attempt. America's dual purpose, in seeking to force it into circulation again, is to avoid the vicious inflation which already threatens to engulf North American finances, and at the same time to achieve thereby the long-sought economic domination of the world by Wall Street which previously misfired. This is the sole objective of the well-known currency circulation plan drawn up by Morgenthau, American Secretary of the Treasury.

"'You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold' was the cry raised by the American statesman, William Jennings Bryan, as a protest against the abuse of gold. Yet what America is trying to do today is to crucify all the rest of the world on the cross of gold.

"Gentlemen, if the Anglo-American nations blindly follow North America and allow themselves to be used as tools for the execution of her egoistic policies, they will gain nothing but the privilege of remaining her obedient servants, and the day may come when the same Latin American nations will be forced to choose one of the two evils, either a new war of independence or unconditional surrender to the economic imperialism of the Colossus of the North.

"However that may be, gentlemen, we Japanese have no intention of meddling into your own affairs. The declaration made on several occasions by the Japanese Government that it has no ambition whatsoever toward Latin America can be readily understood and confirmed by a brief glance at the

map of the world.

"In the meantime, gentlemen, all that Japan desires from the different nations of Latin America is a justly reciprocal attitude. That is, she hopes the nations of Central and South America, in full comprehension of Japan's sincere intention not to meddle in any way in Latin American affairs, will, on their part, likewise refrain from any attempt of meddling in those of East Asia. In other words, she looks to the Latin American nations for their continued adherence to the high principles of true Pan-Americanism, and for their perfect understanding of the ideals governing the creation of the common prosperity sphere in the region of Greater East Asia, whose basic significance is exactly analogous to that of authentic Pan-Americanism.

"Latin Americans, if this just and reasonable hope of ours be realized, eternal peace will reign between America and the East, and in that peace the free and independent peoples of your Continent and ours will be able to contribute in fullest measure toward the permanent prosperity and well-being of the whole humanity."

Enemy War Aims and the New Order

*(Speaking at the Tokyo Imperial University,
October 19, 1943)*

Political commentators in America and Britain have been persistently discussing post-war problems ever since the beginning of the war. Recently these discussions are being carried on with ever greater fervor. The post-war problems discussed, all based on the hypothesis of an anti-Axis victory, include the unilateral disarming of the Axis Powers; world policing by the "Allies"; releasing the world's natural resources for peaceful purposes alone; the post-war establishment of a world-wide network of commercial airlines and other kindred topics.

All these and similar Anglo-American projects as to the post-war world have in common the following: (1) they do not so much as touch on the fundamental causes underlying the war; (2) they take the purely propaganda assumption of an anti-Axis victory as a matter of course and (3) they imply restoration of the pre-war world order characterized by Anglo-American domination.

In other words, all the Anglo-American arguments and discussions on the post-war world utterly disregard the fact that it was precisely the shortcomings and inconsistencies of the pre-war world order which made the second world war inevitable, and voice the Anglo-American determination to impose that pre-war order on the world once more—to impose it, moreover, by force, and, what is more, by the force of Britain and America alone. This not only constitutes an essential defect in their arguments, but it can be taken as a complete revelation of the Anglo-American ambition for abso-

lute world hegemony.

In the previous World War the Allied leaders were faced with the necessity of clarifying their confused war aims to their peoples and the world. After having dragged the American people into the war in the name of "justice" and "humanity," and to "make the world safe for democracy," Wilson made his famous Fourteen Point Declaration in January 1918, setting forth the Allies' war aims. No sooner had arms been laid down, however, than the conflicting interests of the Allied Nations became apparent and all harmony among them gave way to discord.

The ideals of free trade and mutual armament restriction were utterly betrayed. The League of Nations itself, which America did not join, was reduced to purely nominal existence. In facing their people, in whose memories the great disillusionment and disappointments of the epoch following Versailles are still fresh, it is impossible for Anglo-American politicians to repeat today the illusory war aims so lightly discarded after the last war. As, moreover, the professed aim of overthrowing and disarming the Axis countries and subsequent policing of the world by Britain and America is nothing but a thread-bare disguise for the Anglo-American ambition for absolute world hegemony, the Anglo-American leaders are particularly eager to avoid discussion of war aims. It is to side-track such discussions and create the impression that the war is already won that they are emitting much high-flown and deceptive phrases as to what they will do after the war, and the wonderful shape of the post-war world to come.

Were these leaders to clarify sincerely their true aims and the true underlying causes of the war, the absolute inconsistency between their professed ideals and inordinate ambition in trying to restore and further consolidate their world hegemony in a perpetuation of the pre-war world order, whose economic and political deadlock made the present world war inevitable, would become immediately apparent. This

slurring over of the question of war aims and preferential discussion of post-war problems is a clever propaganda trick to conceal the illogical and irrational nature of their own ambitions.

There is furthermore a tactical element in the constant discussion of post-war problems by the enemy. They have no other way to drag their peoples into long continued hostilities, whose purpose escapes them, than by continued appeals to hatred of the Axis countries and by constant marshaling of beautiful phrases about eternal peace and happiness after the war. Abroad, too, the constant broadcasting of post-war plans is undoubtedly aimed at creating the illusion among the peoples of neutral and minor co-belligerent countries that the "Allies" are really winning the war. They may also entertain the vain hope that through continued reiteration of high-sounding phrases the impression can be created that an Allied victory would indeed bring happiness to mankind, and the fighting will of their enemies be eventually undermined thereby. The Axis Powers, however, will not be misled by this spurious Anglo-American propaganda. We shall lose no opportunity to point out the glaring shortcomings of the post-war plans, whose real nature is quite apparent under the high-sounding verbal disguise, and while we thus destroy the enemy's propaganda plans, we shall not fail in our duty of emphasizing the world outlook of our nation and of the liberated peoples of East Asia.

Let us take up the substance of the Anglo-American post-war schemes and investigate the true aspect of the post-war order so loudly propagandized by America and Britain. The fundamental causes of today's world upheaval can be ascribed in the ultimate analysis, to the bankruptcy of that individualism which was the dominating idea of the 19th century. This individualism, placing first importance on the so-called "freedom" of the individual had temporarily conditioned the world, politically in the form of democracy, and economically

in the form of the so-called "laissez-faire" principle. That liberalistic world order, which may have served some useful purpose at the time of its inception, occupies, however, only one page in the long history of mankind. It is, by no means of such a nature that it should be perpetuated and dominate the world forever.

In the internal politics of different countries democracy, which for a time seemed to have brought stability to Europe and America, gave rise to parliamentarianism based on the supposed equality of the individuals. In international politics the democratic idea was expressed in the principle of racial self-determination, and theoretically placed all States, great and small, on an equal footing. In the face of the supremacy of the administration which developed with the growing complication of the social structure, parliamentarianism, however, soon revealed its inadequacy as a means for expressing the will of the people. Furthermore parliament itself, the press, and those other organs of public opinion which form the very basis of a democratic parliamentary political structure all became the instruments and victims of capitalistic machinations and lost their independent functions of former days. Democratic countries were thus drafted involuntarily into the vortex of the chaotic struggle for private profits pursued in their midst by powerful capitalistic interests.

Even greater confusion arose in international politics. Those smaller States who had been accorded theoretical equality found it totally impossible in practice to build up self-supplying or self-sufficient economies within the limits of their small territories. Moreover, the constant and rapid progress in the technique of war made the broadening of the basic units of national defense unavoidable. Confronted with these problems the smaller States unable to attain either economic stability or national security, inevitably became pawns in the game of power politics pursued unceasingly by the dominating world Powers. Liberalistic economy, moreover,

which, in theory seemed to promise eternal prosperity to mankind, was soon submerged under and dominated by powerful monopolistic interests, and robbed of its main tenets of national economic freedom and equality of opportunity. Indeed it soon became clear that though it was possible to theorize about international freedom of trade for the smaller States, this was impossible in practice in face of the aggressive competition by great Powers.

The world order of the 19th century is being subjected to a searching criticism even by a few American and British authors. In England, for example, Professor Carr of the University of Wales in his book "Conditions of Peace" published last year, emphasizes the necessity for a re-examination of the principles of democracy, racial self-determination, and laissez-faire capitalism. In America, Professor Burnham of New York University sets forth in his book "The Managerial Revolution" his opinion that administrators drawn from a new class of technicians must be encharged with State administration in the future.

The underlying causes of the present world war sprang from remote roots. Not least among them was an irresistible historic trend demanding a general liquidation of the obsolete political and economical world order functioning exclusively in the interests of the Anglo-Saxons and under their complete domination. This is a problem which will have to be solved in the post-war world. It is impossible of solution by such superficial measures as enforcing sanctions upon so-called "aggressors" or policing the world as advocated by the enemy.

What is set up as the joint war aims of America and Britain is the Atlantic Charter of August, two years ago. In order to refresh your memories, let me restate here the eight points in that charter:

The two nations declared that:

1—Their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or otherwise.

2—They desire to see no territorial changes except as a result of the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

3—They respect the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live and wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

4—They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to assure access of all nations on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

5—They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all full economic advantages and personal and social security.

6—After the overthrow of Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own territories and which will afford assurance that the men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

7—Such a peace should enable all men to sail the high seas and oceans without interference.

8—They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten or may threaten aggression outside their countries, they believe, pending the establishment of a wide and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

Again, in a speech delivered by Sumner Welles, Under-secretary of State, in May, last year, he stressed the organiza-

tion of an international police force until a system for guaranteeing general safety could be established. He added that after urgent post-war economic social measures had been taken, conditions for a lasting peace in an international system with the "Allied" nations at the center should be decided upon, and that individuals, groups, and peoples responsible for the war should be punished. In the same month, Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, declared that it was necessary for the the four nations of Britain, America, the Soviet Union, and China alone to maintain arms with which to police the world.

In all these declarations and ideas the dominating theme is the desire to suppress the so-called "aggressors" by brute strength and restore the status quo ante bellum with a few added defects. On this point lofty ideals and honest reflection are alike omitted. These declarations, devoid of constructive aims or any vision beyond the immediate problem of victory or defeat, touch in no way on the fundamental problem of the war, which is: "Who made the world this way?" Instead of enquiring into the causes that forced the Axis to fight for their right to live, they talk only of the unconditional surrender of the Axis nations, the disarmament of "aggressors," a world police force or an Anglo-American guaranteed system to ensure world security. It is not strange that even within America and Britain there is opposition to such reactionary and unconstructive ideas. Moreover it may be pointed out, even without looking back to Versailles, that such ideas may be easy to talk about and may gratify the baser passions of the enemy, but it is abundantly clear that they can never be put into effective practice. The post-war economic order is another favorite topic of the Americans. They tirelessly repeat well-worn phrases as to the abolition of trade barriers, the free access to natural resources by non-aggressors, and the economic welfare of each people. The Atlantic Charter itself supports the principle of equal access to natural resources and

international economic cooperation. Undersecretary of State Welles in a speech of May last year also called for the development to the full of the productive power of mankind, and the free circulation of commodities across frontiers for the benefit of all humanity. At the same time he asserted that regional spheres, such as the American hemisphere, should be preserved as part of the post-war world economic structure. In a later speech he stressed the fact that resources should be made available only to those who were not "aggressors," that the resources supplied be limited to what was necessary for peaceful aims, and that obstacles to free trade be abolished.

The principle of free trade, however, broke down completely in the past when weak countries were made the prey of the Anglo-American Powers, and no small country could protect itself adequately in the international trade arena. Why Welles continues to give lip service to the principle of free trade can be understood in the light of the American determination to control the trade of the world.

Moreover, that Welles advocates in one breath the abolition of trade barriers on the one hand and the principle of preservation of the American hemisphere structure is a plain indication of the American desire to eat her cake and have it too. It is but one more manifestation of that typically self-seeking American policy which makes America demand of other nations equal opportunities and free access to their resources, while at the same time zealously bent on securing monopolistic control of the Central and South American resources and markets for itself. Welles further says that resources should be supplied only to those who are not "aggressors" and within limits only necessary for peaceful aims. But how are aggressors and non-aggressors to be distinguished, and by whom? Who will decide on the amounts necessary for peaceful aims?

Secretary of State Hull, who represents America's traditions and who is at the helm of its foreign policy, in a speech

made in September, this year, concerning war problems and conduct asserted that the "Allied" nations had identical interests and were moreover gaining the fruits of cooperation. He then went on to say that even after the war the cooperation of the peace-loving "Allied" nations should be firm and close. Hull declared that international conflicts were of three kinds, those that had their roots in political or legal differences, and others which sprang from pure lust for aggression. He advocated mediation in the first type, arbitration by an international court in the second, and the enforcement of rigorous sanctions in the third. In that way, he asserted, the peace of the world could be permanently maintained. He further stated that with equality among nations, respect for international law, equal economic opportunities, and with the good neighbor policy at the foundations, the welfare of all the various peoples of the world would be actively promoted. Underlying his whole speech is the idea of enforcing sanctions against whoever the "Allied" nations choose to call "aggressors," and of cooperation among the so-called "democracies" and "freedom" of trade under American control. There is not one word which might contribute to a new world peace. Just to take the idea of the abolition of trade barriers, it has been found that under a democratic political structure of America, the political machinations through Congress by various powerful vested interests in the country are freely intruded in dealing with trade problems. The Government must give heed to the demands of private interests from political and party considerations; consequently its decisions are reached so as to satisfy as many of these selfish private interest as possible as is readily seen in America's high tariff policy, and Hull, who devoted many years of his life to the tariff problem should know better than anyone else that it is impossible to seek freedom of trade within a democratic political structure.

Fundamentally, the Anglo-American theory of post-war

management is to restore the pre-war world order and to maintain it forcibly through the armed might of the two nations. The arrogant spirit in which this theory is conceived is that the post-war order is to be imposed by the victor on the vanquished by force at the victor's own will. It is based on the ideology that whatever America and Britain may choose to do, is right. Theorizing on post-war problems from various angles has been popular in America of late. Of course, there are some, like former President Hoover who is one of the few, who urge America to reflect on her arrogant attitude. The greater part of the theorists clamor for rigorous sanctions to be enforced against the "aggressors."

Numerous organizations interested to be regarded as instruments of post-war management, are already being established under the leadership of America and Britain. The Lend-Lease Administration must be regarded as one of such organizations as must the joint "Allied" organs concerning foodstuffs, relief, currency and others which have been established. The setting up of these bodies at this time is an endeavor to prevent America from going the same way it did after the last Great War when it refused to join the League of Nations. It can also be said that these bodies are a manifestation of the determination on the part of America's leaders to move out actively in its world policy. Should these organs survive the war, as long as America and Britain aim at the rebuilding of the 19th century order, they would probably serve as a convenient means whereby America and Britain, profiting by their superior economic position, might enforce in favor of their own national policies such measures as the severance of economic relations with other countries and the freezing of assets.

In short, no matter what beautiful phrases may drop from American and British lips, as long as these countries fail to study and eradicate the fundamental reasons underlying the present war; as long as they do not divest themselves of their

preconceived idea that whatever they do is right, there can be no world security.

© It is to be noted that none of these American blueprints for post-war management of the world, show any consideration for the problems of East Asia, except for an occasional reference to Chungking. This is obviously the result of Anglo-American ignorance of East Asian affairs and their contemptuous attitude toward Asiatic nations in general. Possibly no more could be expected of those countries who have so long arrogated to themselves the overlordship of the Oriental races, and who through lack of understanding have become imbued with a totally unwarrantable sense of superiority, and a determination to exploit these peoples to satisfy their own material lust and greed.

Let us turn our attention for a moment to the situation in East Asia. Centuries have passed since the nations of Europe first embarked on aggressive inroads into East Asia. As different Powers in Europe rose and fell, so in Asia Portugal was superseded by the Netherlands and the Netherlands in their turn was replaced by Britain. These Occidental nations came entirely uninvited, and Britain at last had the brazen effrontery to refer to the peoples of these regions, to whom she had extended the ever spreading tentacles of aggression, as the "white man's burden," in an endeavor to stifle the uneasy consciences of her own people themselves with that insolent slogan.

Once British domination was firmly established over India, Britain extended her tentacles to China, while the influence of Czarist Russia which had swept across North Asia and Siberia and brought these enormous regions under its control in the early 19th century, penetrated southward to Manchuria and threatened East Asia. The United States, also determined to get a finger in the pie, stretched out an avid hand across the Pacific. Our nation, emerging from two and a half centuries of absolutely peaceful seclusion was forced to awaken

the Chinese from their more lethargic slumber through the Sino-Japanese War, and the struggle centering around the Boxer Rebellion. Then we faced our foreign aggressors. Had Japan yielded to the nations of the West at that time the entire East would have been Africanized and split up into colonies of rival occidental Powers. All the nations of Asia would inevitably have been reduced to the same state of vassalage as India. Japan, however, shattered the aggressive military might of Czarist Russia on the plains of Manchuria, and destroyed her mighty fleet in the Straits of Tsushima. Thus our nation's place as the guardian power in East Asia was established.

Then, through ten years of hard work, and through the fire of the first World War, we built up our national prestige and power as a major world Power. It devolves on us, who have succeeded to the glorious task set by our predecessors, to free East Asia from Anglo-American tyranny, to enable all the nations of East Asia to find their fitting places in the sun, to rid the Anglo-Saxons of their false white man's superiority complex and to consolidate the position of East Asia in the world system of modern nations, thereby achieving the goal of true stabilization of East Asia.

Already six years have gone by since the outbreak of the China Affair and we have been fighting for nearly two years in the War of Greater East Asia. Unfortunately, the Chungking regime has not yet come to see the error of its ways in perpetuating a useless fratricidal war, but the National Government of China now actively cooperating with us is growing stronger day by day and strengthening its ties with our country. Burma has become independent and the Philippines, too, on October 14 declared her long-cherished independence. Thus the construction of Greater East Asia is steadily progressing.

Nevertheless, the armed forces of the United States and Britain are vigilantly watching for opportunities to counter-

attack from the north and the south and their numerical strength and striking power are not to be despised. The immediate mission which must be fulfilled by this Empire, fighting as she is for the stabilization of East Asia, is, first of all, to smash these foreign foes. We must not only check their counter-offensive by armed force but also combine the total strengths of all East Asiatic countries so that an unbeatable structure may be established in this part of the world. This is the urgent first step toward the stabilization of East Asia which we must take without fail.

At the same time, we are charged with the vast task of constructing a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. As I have already said, the prevailing chaos in the world today is the inevitable result of the collapse of a political and economic order based on individualistic ideology. The current war is also a struggle to found a new order. In these chaotic times, it is only natural that the various nations of Greater East Asia, linked by cultural ties, so near each other geographically and sharing common interests, should work together, aid each other and form a sphere of co-existence. It is such a sphere of co-prosperity that will form a strong link in the chain of a new world order. Some may argue that the ultimate ideal of mankind is to weave the whole world into a single sphere of co-existence so that the hearts of all men may beat in unison. When we consider, however, the marked differences of race, nationality, tradition, cultural form and development and geo-political conditions actually existing in the world today, we are led to realize that such an ideal involves too great a forward jump in thought and is difficult of any early fulfilment. Consequently, the new world order that is to come in this century is visualized as different spheres of co-prosperity with each sphere existing in harmony and cooperating with the others.

The break-down of the world order based on individualism leads to the birth of a New Order. In individualism the value

of each individual is held as absolute. Each individual, however, has a long history behind it which permitted its formation. Moreover, in modern social and economic organization, each individual is inseparably connected with, and mutually dependent upon other contemporary individuals. An individual, therefore, cannot and should not live isolated from and independent of other contemporaries or be looked upon as floating free from the past and future.

Individualistic order is defective in that it lays particular emphasis only on the present, which is but a moment in the long history of mankind. It stresses contemporary human relations and holds as absolute the welfare of only one particular age, totally ignoring its connection with the past and future.

In seeking for an ideal to replace individualism, we must take note of this defect of individualism. The East Asiatic peoples who are closely united by human affinity and who share a common destiny should uphold as the guiding principles of the Co-Prosperity Sphere, the idea of "eternity" instead of only the present passing "moment," and of nationalism instead of democracy.

This ideal is one of the greatest contributions East Asia can make to world peace. The truth, "Light from the East," will be realized by this ideal.

The mission imposed upon us calls upon first to complete the liberation of East Asia and to cooperate actively with the various peoples in East Asia, thereby creating a true co-prosperity sphere in this region, and, further, to share our happiness and well-being with the rest of the world, not seeking any kind of monopoly for the exclusive benefit of East Asiatic peoples. This will be our contribution to the establishment of a true world peace.

The various peoples in East Asia differ from each other, of course, in the relative degree of their political, economic and cultural maturity. But since they are animated alike by

the ideals of the new order and a spirit of mutual assistance and support with a unity comparable to that of a united family, the brightest future is assured for all of them.

As a preliminary to realizing this lofty ideal, we must first bring about eternal stability in East Asia. For this purpose, we must fight and blast the false superiority complex of Britain and the United States, militarily complete the defense of East Asia and, economically, forestall any future Anglo-American attempts at renewed pressure whether in the form of sudden severance of economic relations or by any other means. The peace structure which we are going to establish in East Asia is, however, totally different in nature from the Anglo-American peace structure based on an unwarranted superiority complex, plus a desire for world domination and determined by the Anglo-American idea of victor and vanquished. It is our intention, therefore, to cooperate fully, spiritually as well as materially, with those in other areas of the globe who, sharing our ideals, are resolved to work for the establishment of true world peace, and to lay the foundations for international friendship on a harmonious basis.

The stabilization and prosperity of East Asia conform to the flow of eternal history. Just as many of the causes of the present upheaval are remote, so are some of our goals distant. Our mission is a grave one, but I am firmly convinced that in the glorious future opening before us our gigantic enterprise for bringing about perennial prosperity and true and stable world peace will eventually be crowned with complete success.

Deceptive American White Papers

*(Addressing the Imperial Rule Assistance
Association, December 3, 1943)*

In a few days' time, the War of Greater East Asia will enter its third year. The war situation throughout the world, in East Asia no less than in Europe, has become extremely severe. Intensification of the war of thought and propaganda is even more apparent. But America's true aims have still to be clarified and has been a subject of heated debate within America itself. Now, as the war takes on a more definite long-term aspect, the latent dissatisfaction felt in all sections of America is steadily coming to the surface. More and more Americans are asking why America got into the war and what she is fighting for. To meet this situation on its home front the American Government is freely broadcasting at home and abroad that the war was unavoidably forced upon America by Japan. "Peace and War," a White Paper issued in January of this year by the U.S. State Department, and another State Department White Paper published in October this year, containing official documents relating to the Japanese-American negotiations during the two months preceding the outbreak of war, are both based on this American official propaganda theme. A copy of the first publication and some excerpts of the second came into my hands in due course. Both are replete with the deceptions and evasions which fill American propaganda and are typical of the enemy tactics.

Studied omissions, and deliberate misrepresentations color the distorted picture both publications present of the

causes of war, remote, subsequent and immediate. First, in "Peace and War," as its sub-title shows, only America's foreign policy during the years 1930 to 1940 is dealt with. All explanation of the extremely important developments during the decade immediately following the last war, which led to the deplorable state of affairs prevailing since 1930, is thus avoided at the very outset. Second, the provocative policy consistently followed by the American Government for several years before the outbreak of hostilities, a policy which was so largely responsible for bringing about both the current war in Europe and the War of Greater East Asia, is scarcely touched upon. Third, in the account given of the Japanese-American negotiations, particularly of their final stage, much is twisted, more is concealed, to suit America's convenience. I will go over these three points in their proper order.

First let me take up the remote causes of the war. The decade immediately following the last World War was undoubtedly the most important period in the recent history of international relations. During that period the Versailles system was set up in Europe. In East Asia the Washington Conference system was established. These two systems are at the root of all subsequent developments in international relations. In other words, the unfortunate world situation since 1930 was, in fact, nothing but the natural consequence of the miscarriage of these systems. Yet America carefully avoids all reference to this fundamental fact.

The American White Paper quotes Secretary of State Cordell Hull as having declared in a speech at Washington on May 5, 1935, that, in Europe, dictatorships had "sprung up suddenly" in the place of democracies. It is, however, obviously impossible for any national policy or political structure to spring up "suddenly" in any country, without passing through a long period of incubation, and without important underlying causes.

America and Britain assert as dogma that a country with-

out democracy is not a country. Each country of the world, however, has lived its own distinct history and has its own different traditions. Their political, economical, and military situations vary. Internal conditions and the international environments of all countries are by no means identical. How can they, then, all have one and the same political setup? Discussion of the fundamental question as to whether the democratic system of government employed by such favored countries as America and Britain could be made to work in any country in the position of Germany and Italy after the last war, can be left for the time being. But it should not be forgotten that the system imposed at Versailles and its defective operation were the principal factors governing Germany's adoption of its present political system and foreign policy. No sooner did America finally enter the last World War than England and France made propaganda claims that their own war objects in no way differed from Wilson's famous "Fourteen Points." As the "Fourteen Points" were not unacceptable to Germany, the fighting will of the German people was eventually undermined by this deceptive propaganda. Germany laid down her arms in good faith, and an armistice was called. England's and France's attitude thereupon underwent a sudden change. Churchill for instance, said that he considered "that the only point of substance was to induce the United States to let us off the debt we had contracted with them, and return us the bullion and scrip we had paid over, on the understanding we should do the same to the allies to whom we had made advances. If President Wilson were prepared to do that, we might go some way toward meeting his dues. . . . For the rest, we should be civil and insist on our essential points." As a result of this abrupt change, the actual peace conditions were indeed far different from Wilson's original ideas.

From certain points of view it may be said that not only Germany but America also was thus tricked by Britain and

France. Former President Herbert Hoover, in his book, "America's First Crusade" published immediately before the War of Greater East Asia, pointed this out in some detail and warned the American people to be on their guard against similar deception in the future. Under the Versailles system set up in these circumstances—the operation of which was left practically entirely to Britain and France—the permanent suppression of Germany was the predominant idea. Germany, who had relied on Wilson's Fourteen Points in making peace, was for her part faced with bitter disillusionment. Though she adopted the Constitution of Weimar which fully or rather excessively embodied all the principles of democracy advocated by Britain and France, though she pursued the conciliatory foreign policy of Gustav Stresemann and others, the expected support and cooperation of Britain, France, and other European countries concerned were not forthcoming.

In the economic field, no matter how hard she tried, it was impossible to make both ends meet. The harsh economic and reparations clauses in the peace treaty, which even the British delegate J. M. Keynes pointed out from the beginning as unreasonable and impracticable, imposed extreme hardships on Germany. Temporizing, makeshift measures such as those embodied in the Dawes and Young Plans, and the granting of short-term loans by America were adopted to tide over this situation and avert a crisis. But at the first signs of financial panic in Europe, America immediately withdrew all her capital with utter disregard to the inevitable consequences. Germany was thus forced into the uttermost depths of misery and despair. Her unemployed mounted to seven or eight millions. Driven into political, financial, and economic chaos she was almost at the point of breathing her last. It was then that Fuehrer Adolph Hitler and the National Socialist Party rose to save Germany from her tragic plight and rebuilt the Germany of today. Before wantonly criticizing and attacking totalitarianism, America and Britain should

first reflect upon their own responsibility for letting things come to such a pass in Germany that a totalitarian organization was the only remedy for her ills.

Let us now take up the problem of the Washington Conference. The professed aim of all the treaties related to that Conference was to bring about stability and peace in East Asia through harmony among the Powers concerned. For a long period of about 10 years our country, faithfully abided by all the provisions of those treaties. This, however, was interpreted by China as clear proof that Japan had succumbed to pressure from America and Britain. Encouraged by Britain and America, and relying on Anglo-American help, China thereupon took every opportunity to antagonize Japan. America and Britain overtly and covertly in every way supported this tendency, hoping thereby to check the normal and natural development of our legitimate interests on the Chinese continent. This eventually led to the Manchurian Incident and, in turn to the China Affair and finally to the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia.

156 What gave rise to such a state of affairs? Since the days when the first World War was still in progress, America has shown an increasingly coercive attitude toward Japan. During the Peace Conference at Paris, she actively supported China over the Shantung controversy. This American support led to China's final refusal to sign the Peace Treaty on account of that issue. Later, at the Washington Conference, China again brought up her quite unjustified claims with regard to the Shantung problem. As a result, as many as 36 committee meetings had to be called to settle this question. Finally the American President was himself obliged to advise the Chinese delegate that, if he insisted on his too stubborn stand he might lose Shantung Province altogether. Only thus was a settlement barely reached.

Ever since that time, and until Wang Ching-wei came to understand Japan's true intentions, China had in all matters

aimed at gaining the support and help of America and Britain and taken an attitude antagonistic toward Japan. America and Britain, on the other hand, have not failed to encourage this attitude and turn it to their advantage. In this way, the Washington Treaties were converted into instruments to fan anti-Japanese sentiment in China, and the Washington system, far from guaranteeing peace and security in East Asia as it was supposed to do, gave rise, on the contrary, to endless disturbances in this region.

Another Japanese-American issue which greatly influenced relations between the two countries during the ten-year period from 1920 to 1930 was the American Immigration Act passed in 1924. To use the words of Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes in a note to Chairman Johnson of the Immigration and Naturalization Affairs Committee of the Lower House, the enactment of this law meant "fixing a stigma" upon us; something we have never been able to forget.

Two further Japanese-American problems arose toward the end of the last War. One was disagreement over the dispatch of troops to Siberia, the other the China consortium controversy. In both these problems, as in the Shantung issue, and at the Washington Conference, conspicuous pressure was brought to bear on Japan by the United States. This has also been pointed out in the United States itself by an unbiased diplomatic historian, Professor A. Whitney Griswold of Yale University, in his book "Far Eastern Policy of the United States." Undeniably this series of regrettable occurrences did great harm to the subsequent Japanese-American relations. Therefore, to cut out altogether these preceding events in reviewing the disagreements between the two countries as if they had suddenly leapt into being in 1930, makes the discussion meaningless and deceptive.

This brings us to the second point, the more recent causes of the current war. Many distortions of fact mark the account given in the American White Papers of the policy of the

United States during the few years preceding the war in Europe and the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia. One of the outstanding examples of such distortion can be seen in the fact that no correct account is given of the deliberately provocative attitude assumed by the American Government in inciting and encouraging Britain, France, Poland and other countries to open hostilities with Germany, nor of the part of chief instigator constantly played by America in coercive movement carried out against Japan through the League of Nations, and elsewhere, following the Manchurian Incident. The White Paper shows that the Tripartite Alliance between Japan, Germany and Italy, was from the outset the subject of persistent, prejudiced and quite unfounded misinterpretation in America and in turn finally made settlement of the Japanese-American negotiations by compromise impossible. The American account given of the facts connected with the alliance is completely arbitrary and biased.

Let us take up American provocations in Europe first. It is well known that for some time before the outbreak of the European War, Germany tried every available means to avoid a clash with Britain and reach a peaceful settlement. In Britain, too, there was in influential faction which responded to this conciliatory German attitude. In these circumstances, present German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop himself took the post of German Ambassador to Britain. But by that time the United States had no desire to see a peaceful settlement reached between Britain and Germany. A change came over the political scene in Britain also, and Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop did not achieve his mission. Thereafter, the political situation in Europe became further aggravated. Neville Chamberlain, then Prime Minister of Britain, however, thought over seriously on the situation facing Britain and considered his country's future. This reflection induced a determination to reach a compromise with Germany. At his meeting with Fuehrer Hitler, on September 29, 1938, the

famous "Munich Agreement," was drawn up. He returned to Britain triumphantly, agreement in pocket, proclaiming that it meant "peace in our time." Not only the British people, but the peoples of almost all of Europe before whom the dark shadow of war had loomed imminent, heaved a sigh of relief that a way had been found to avert the crisis, and welcomed Prime Minister Chamberlain's achievement with rejoicing. The United States, however, openly and actively opposed this policy of appeasement and, with American encouragement, the Churchill-Eden faction in England schemed to reverse Chamberlain's pacific policy. Moreover, the day following the conclusion of the Munich agreement, U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull issued a statement of thinly veiled disapproval concerning this agreement, as the American White Papers state.

Stationed in Europe at that time, it seemed to me plain that America was only too frequently interfering in European questions that did not concern her. Indeed, it appeared as if she had assumed the leading role in these questions, and was using all her endeavors to drive Britain and Germany into a head-long clash, wilfully impeding all their efforts to effect a compromise. The American Ambassador who was my colleague at the time shared this opinion and expressed much concern over Europe's future.

Furthermore, rumors were current in Europe that Joseph Kennedy, then American Ambassador to Britain, held the same opinion. Shortly after the war broke out, Kennedy returned to America. In an interview with a representative of the Boston Globe on November 10 of that year he stated that democracy in England no longer existed, that that country was practically under exclusive one party control, and that a totalitarian state in no way different from that of Germany had been set up in Britain. He went on to say that if the United States took the plunge into war, democracy would meet with the same fate in America as in Britain, and con-

cluded that he was therefore, firmly opposed to America's participation in the War!

His statement created a great sensation in America. It explains in some degree his reported opinions at the time of the conclusion of the Munich Agreement. Not long after this interview, Ambassador Kennedy handed in his resignation, in spite of Roosevelt's request that he remain in his post. From this it is abundantly clear that more than one high-ranking American diplomat was definitely opposed to the provocative policy followed by his government.

Official documents of the Polish Government seized by Germany on the fall of Warsaw and subsequently exposed, offer further proof that American diplomatic agents stationed in Poland and France at that time actively instigated both countries to take an uncompromising stand toward Germany, leading them to believe in America's prompt participation in the war should hostilities result. The White Paper admits that Paul Reynaud, then French Premier, sent two urgent cable messages, on June 10 and June 14, just before the downfall of France, to the American President beseeching immediate United States' entry into the war to save France. His last heart-rending appeal is one of the most tragic cries recorded in modern diplomatic history: "Then you will see France go down like a drowning man and disappear after having cast a last look toward the land of liberty from which she awaited salvation." This heart-breaking appeal for an anticipated, but not forthcoming aid, shows how far American diplomats in France had gone in misleading the French Government before the outbreak of the European War.

In East Asia, also, the United States has, since the time of the Manchurian Incident, invariably taken the leading part in oppressing Japan. She went so far as to exert every possible pressure on the League of Nations, of which she was not even a member, to impose against Japan the economic sanctions provided for in the League Covenant. Britain's refusal

to do her bidding in this matter was far from pleasing to the United States. It is distinctly asserted by Henry L. Stimson, at that time U.S. Secretary of State, in his book published in America some years ago.

When the China Affair broke out, the United States again led a diplomatic offensive against Japan, and once more tried to influence the League of Nations as well as outside Powers, to bring pressure to bear upon this country. The United States was also the principal sponsors of the Nine Power Pact Conference held at Brussels in 1937. The fact was made clear by what I was told by the British Ambassador, who was then my colleague in Brussels.

All through the China Affairs, the United States headed the movement to coerce Japan. In the summer of 1939, Britain, looking at the China situation from a realistic point of view, undertook negotiations with Japan for the purpose of adjusting Anglo-Japanese relations. On July 24, an agreement on the Tientsin Concession issue was reached between Sir Robert Craigie and our then Foreign Minister, Hachiro Arita. This apparently was not to the liking of the United States. Only two days after Anglo-Japanese agreement was reached, the United States Government notified Japan of the abrogation of the Japanese-American commercial treaty. Other factors were, of course, involved, but we may regard the timing of the measure by the United States as indicative of a desire to manifest outwardly her disapproval of the understanding reached between Japan and Britain, and her hope to restrain Britain from further conciliation.

In June of the following year, Japan and Britain entered into negotiations regarding the closing of the Burma Road. The United States Government promptly called the British and Australian diplomatic representatives at Washington into a conference, seeking to induce Britain to break off the talks with Japan. In the meantime, the Export Control Act was enacted on July 2. When Japan and Britain finally reached

an agreement over the Burma Road, the United States Government, applying this new legislation, promptly prohibited the export of high-octane gasoline and vital machine tools to this country. Undoubtedly it meant to be a counter-gesture aimed at strangling Japan and encouraging Britain not to continue further on the reasonable path of compromise.

At that time, Sino-Japanese problems were, of necessity, closely connected with both Anglo-Japanese and Japanese-American problems. The United States, therefore, cannot shirk the responsibility for thus having endeavored to influence Britain, coerce Japan, and render any settlement of Sino-Japanese problems difficult; all of which finally brought about the situation which caused the War of Greater East Asia.

In the White Papers the United States deliberately misconstrued the aims of the Tripartite Treaty between Japan, Germany and Italy, subverting its meaning to suit her purpose. She even goes so far as to make the groundless and entirely unsupported assertion that she had long been aware that a secret pact existed between Japan and Germany since 1934 or 1935, aimed at simultaneous world conquest from the East and from the West.

The White Paper further states that U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull on September 11, 1940, informed the French Ambassador at Washington that the United States Government had, for the past several years, based all its actions and policy on the assumption that Hitler was determined on the conquest of Europe by force, and that Japan was determined on a like course in Asia, from Hawaii to Thailand. This is a quite gratuitous assumption on his part which nothing justifies. Nothing could have been more dangerous and reckless than to base his policy on such an arbitrary and unwarrantable assumption. In negotiating with Japan this false idea on the part of the United States must have been the cause of her insistence on Japan's withdrawal from the Tripartite Pact as a prerequisite to any understanding.

According to the White Papers, President Roosevelt, on no fewer than four occasions, since April 29, 1940, sent messages to Signor Benito Mussolini whose country already had a treaty of alliance with Germany. In these messages, sent with the aim of keeping Italy from entering the war, President Roosevelt proposed that the United States and Italy work together for the reconstruction of peace in Europe, promised to consider Italy's claims, and offered to enlist British and French support of Italy's demands so that Italy's desires might be filled in exchange for Italy's non-participation in the war. He further assured Italy that she would be accorded belligerent status in the final Peace Conference in which her participation would be welcome. In offering these alluring inducements to Italy to abstain from entering the war on Germany's side the United States made no demand for abrogation by Italy of her treaty of alliance with Germany. This is very different from the attitude taken by the United States toward Japan both before the conclusion of the Tripartite Treaty and throughout the Japanese-American negotiations. This can probably be ascribed to complete under-estimation of Japan's real position and national strength on the part of the United States, no less than to the decision already reached in the United States, to enter the European War herself at a favorable moment, and to her consequent desire to remove all cause for concern in the Pacific when she did enter the war by emasculating the Tripartite Treaty. Had this American scheme succeeded, the United States would have been left with the free hand she plainly sought, to enter the war, subdue Germany first, and then, in concert with Britain, hold down Japan, just as she did after the last World War.

There are many questions I should like to take up with regard to the third point, the immediate causes governing the outbreak of hostilities. The White Paper contains a number of the perverted statements regarding the Japanese-American negotiations. But for the present I shall confine

myself to what happened since November 17, the day on which I began personally to take part in the negotiations.

The thing which attracted my attention as conspicuously absent in the White Papers was the most important fact that President Roosevelt, at the very first meeting at which I was present, himself proposed to act as "Introducer" between Japan and China, and that this proposal was later smothered in irrelevancies by the American Government. At that meeting being a newcomer in the conversations, I was to speak first. As the White Paper mentions I stressed the necessity of a Japanese-American compromise, saying that even from the little I could observe on my way to the United States, the situation in the Pacific required only a match to start the explosion that would involve both countries in a war. "What for?" said the President in agreement also expressing the need for compromise. I then pointed out that the chief obstacle to the Japanese-American approximation resided in the Sino-Japanese relations, and that what made the solution of the problem difficult was America's interference even in the conditions of peaceful Sino-Japanese settlements which by their very nature precluded outside interference. I further pointed out that the measures advocated by the United States were totally incompatible with the realities of the situation. President Roosevelt then came forth with the suggestion just mentioned that the United States act as "Introducer" between Japan and China, remarking at the same time that he was not sure whether the word "Introducer" was used in diplomacy. He further declared that the role of "Introducer" as he understood it was merely to introduce, and in no way implied interference in the subsequent negotiations or terms.

Thereupon, Secretary Hull, also present, came into the conversation. He began to talk of what he termed the Japanese Government's "lack of faith". I reminded Secretary Hull of the sudden change of attitude of the United States toward Japan after the last World War, and told him that there

existed in certain quarters in Japan considerable mistrust of the United States' intentions as a result of that abrupt change, and that the present negotiations could not hope for success if at such a serious and critical moment the opportunity for compromise were lost in talk of imputed lack of faith in the past on either side. Nevertheless by just such methods the United States representatives skirted round this important "Introducer" issue, and by quibbling and evasion contrived to kill the President's serious proposal. That representatives of the American Government themselves should thus cast upon the rubbish heap a proposal made by their own President to foreign envoys during critical official negotiations, in which the proposal might well have played a vital part, is the most conclusive proof of the lack of sincerity on the part of the United States Government in the conversations between Japan and America.

I must next point out that, in the American White Papers, Japan's conciliatory offer of November 20 is very lightly dealt with and at the same time the final, fatal note of November 26 handed to us by the United States Government was nonchalantly justified. All the critical events of that ominous week between the exchange of these Japanese and American notes, the very week which decided peace or war, are further intentionally passed over with studied brevity. The White Papers dismiss Japan's constructive proposals of November 20 with the most misleading statement that "it was also apparent . . . that without trying to solve basic questions, they were seeking to evade serious consideration of an equitable broad-gauge settlement such as had been under discussion in the earlier stages of the conversations." The truth, however, was that in the "earlier stages" the United States had done nothing but reiterate its own interested and non-constructive views, all of which completely ignored the realities of the so-called "basic question". In view of this endless American reiteration of impracticable principles, and in view

of the extremely tense situation which was constantly getting aggravated, the proposal of November 20 was made with the idea of lessening the tension and averting the impending crisis, so that solution of the so-called "basic questions" could be reached in a more tranquil atmosphere.

In substance, the Japanese proposal was a most conciliatory offer to move the troops stationed in southern French Indo-China to the northern part of that country, as this had been a moot point in all the discussions, in exchange for abolition by the United States of the oil ban, the thawing of the frozen assets, and the lifting of the other forms of economic pressure which had been applied against Japan.

This conciliatory proposal met with considerable approval in certain circles connected with the negotiations. This approval was openly voiced by one of the President's intimate circle, who was active behind the scenes at that time. This gentleman indeed expressed great happiness over the proposal, going to the length of declaring that once oil started flowing the rest of the problems would gradually be solved. Reports that a temporary agreement had been reached between Japan and America began to appear in the American press. Frequent conferences on the subject were also apparently held in the State Department and elsewhere. *

In the meantime twice I saw Secretary Hull at his private residence and talked over various matters with him informally, once alone on November 21, and then with Ambassador Nomura on November 22. At the meeting on November 21, Secretary Hull went so far as to tell me with a resigned air that he himself was "in the clutches" of powerful forces within the American Government and that he was not free to do as he desired in certain matters. All these circumstances irrefutably indicate that the American authorities were clearly aware of the extreme seriousness of the situation and of the great significance of the Japanese proposals. Dismissal of these important proposals by this brief evasive reference to

them, in an official report of the proceedings issued by the United States Government, is a glaring example of the measures that the American Government has not hesitated to adopt, to color the report in its own favor, and deceive the world.

The White Papers further indulge in the irony of giving, as one of the reasons for presentation of the note of November 26 by the United States Government, the belief that it might "possibly keep alive the conversations." Nevertheless, it is on record in the White Papers themselves, in the official documents relevant thereto, as well as in the famous Roberts Commission Report, that immediately after the presentation of this fatal note, Secretary Hull told the Secretaries of War and Navy, and so informed the British Ambassador, that the conversations were at an end. Furthermore, according to the White Paper of October, Secretary Hull even went so far as to tell the British Ambassador that a strong possibility existed of Japan's launching a surprise attack over an extremely vast area and occupying important strategic points without giving America, Britain and other countries time to confer or decide upon counter-measures. There could not be more definite proof that the statement in the White Paper to the effect that the note was presented in the belief that it might "possibly keep alive the conversations" was a downright and deliberate lie.

The same White Paper also clearly sets out that America was fully aware of the risk that further economic pressure would invite Japanese reprisals, which might well result in war. It is plainly set out in the White Paper that Ambassador Joseph Grew in a telegram of November 3 sent another warning that it was mistake to think that Japan could be forced to yield to economic pressure and that, on the contrary, in view of Japanese national traits, strangling economic pressure would serve rather to provoke war in East Asia. On November 17, he is quoted as having sent a further telegram report-

ing that the situation was absolutely critical. That, even thus forewarned, America still rejected Japan's conciliatory proposal of November 20, and not only refused to relax her strangling economic pressure, but handed us the so-called "challenge to a death fight" on November 26, can only be construed as manifesting a plain American desire for war, and as part of a scheme to force Japan into a position where she would be the one to start the fighting. Since the outbreak of the War, the United States Government has been shouting to its people from the house-tops "Remember Pearl Harbor." This slogan should be changed to "Remember November 26!"

No mention of the many joint Anglo-American intrigues, which have considerable bearing on the matter, is to be found anywhere in the American White Papers. Many of my remarks have been wilfully perverted and deliberately exaggerated. Still more have been carefully omitted. I shall not burden you with full details of these perversions, exaggerations and omissions. It suffices to say that the enemy is forced to resort to such deceptive tactics, even in official documents, in order to continue to mislead its people and influence misinformed neutrals, solely because the enemy has no clear-cut war aims which can openly be admitted.

In closing my speech at a meeting sponsored by the Imperial Rule Assistance Association on November 26 last year, I expressed the conviction that "If . . . we firmly uphold the spirit of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and extend our efforts to translate this spirit into action without permitting it to remain as mere lip-service, there is not the slightest doubt that we shall win ultimate victory; or rather, I believe it is not too much to say that the key to victory is already in our hands."

I am happy to say that this conviction, has already been translated into fact. The independence of Burma and the Philippines, the restoration of lost territories to Thailand, the rapid progress in Sino-Japanese cooperation and the restora-

tion to full sovereignty of the Government of China, the establishment of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, the granting of participation in their own Government to the peoples of Malai and Indonesia, these are all tangible steps forward in the complete emancipation of Greater East Asia, and toward the integration and solidarity of this region. These epoch making events culminated in the convocation of the Assembly of Greater East-Asiatic Nations on November 5 and 6 of this year and the adoption of the Greater East Asia Joint Declaration, a brilliant achievement in itself and a permanent Magna Charta for Greater East Asia.

The effect of the shock of these events on the enemy is plainly reflected in the flood of false propaganda regarding the Assembly of Greater East-Asiatic Nations let loose in Britain and America. Driven by the fear that Japan's war power will become even more formidable with her present access to all of Greater East Asia's vast resources, realizing that Greater East Asia in unity, is fast becoming invincible, the United States and Britain are now engaged in desperate counter-offensives in the Pacific under the slogan "Don't give Japan time."

Before the opening of the war of Greater East Asia, the United States' favorite slogan was "Don't sell China down the river." After the war started, America kept up the pretense of fighting to deliver China. But now that China is already freed from alien bondage and has, with Japan's help, attained her long cherished aspirations, the enemy's true colours have been revealed. The continued backing of Chungking in a fratricidal war can now only be for the furthering of the enemy's own interests.

When the Philippines was, with the help and support of Japan, on the point of attaining full and complete independence, President Roosevelt lost his customary equanimity. He rushed a message to Congress on October 6, requesting emergency powers to speed the granting of independence to

th Philippines. This Presidential message says in part that "as soon as feasible the legal status of complete freedom and independence" will be accorded, and that such legal status will be "protected." No date is set for granting this independence. As America alone is to judge the time "feasible," it will be left entirely to the United States, to decide. Furthermore, what "legal independence" actually means may be judged by the status of Cuba who also enjoying "legal independence" nevertheless is forced to lease Guantanamo to the United States as a naval base. To "protect" is also a very convenient formula which can be stretched to cover any encroachment to be made on a status of "independence." Indeed, from discussions now current in America as to the necessity for air and naval bases in the Pacific, it is not difficult to imagine just what kind of "legal independence" the United States desires for the Philippines.

Let us turn to India. At the time Sir Stafford Cripps was sent to India, shortly after the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia, public opinion in the United States was largely in favor of the speedy granting of independence to India. To take an instance, the Congress of Industrial Organizations has maintained that the principles of the Atlantic Charter should be immediately applied to India. Blandly ignoring this trend of public opinion, and despite all its talk of the four freedoms, the United States Government is actually throwing America into the fight to block India's desire for freedom as well as to rob Burma of her newly gained independence and liberty. America at present appears to be fighting to deny to others that which she herself once so bitterly fought for; her actions are not consistent with her own alleged war aims.

This glaring inconsistency reveals more plainly than anything else America's true war aims. The American Government, however, has a firm grip on its people. Relying on her much vaunted mass production and material strength, America is out to dominate the world by force of arms. What the

present Government of the United States understands is not justice, not humanity, not love of freedom, but power, backed by physical force.

Well-planned strategy and the heroic fighting power of the gallant Imperial Forces have brought us many brilliant victories since the outbreak of the war. Their astounding achievements fill us with boundless gratitude. We, on the home front, must respond on our part with unquenchable spirit and devote each last ounce of our energy to increase the production of aircraft and other vital supplies till the day of final victory is ours.

KURUSU SPEAKS

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